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Review of the Month

Vive La Commune!

THE month of March is an important one in the diary of the revolutionary Labour movement. It was on the 17th of March, 1871, that the workers of Paris raised the banner of Communism and proclaimed the Paris Commune. This great historical event was the first conscious bid of the masses for power. Its achievements and errors serve to-day as important lessons for the working class. It is an interesting study to test the " impartiality " of historians of French history by noting how much space they devote to such an important and epoch-making event as the 1871 insurrection. Writers who lavish pages upon the most insignificant happenings in the development of France are capable of dismissing the Paris Commune in a sentence. The number of lies they can pack into that sentence is one of the marvels of the world. The *Encyclopædia Britannica* devotes 35 columns to the history of Paris and dismisses the 1871 Commune in one paragraph heavily loaded with the usual malicious fabrications.

All the revolts of the masses prior to the Paris Commune were protests against various forms of tyranny, and were not movements that aimed at capturing and wielding governmental power in the direct interest of the propertyless and enslaved. The slave rebellions of Greece and Rome, the peasant revolts in the later Middle Ages in England, Germany, France, etc., were inspired by memories from the *past*, sharpened by the cruelty of their masters. The rise of the Paris proletariat in March, 1871, was inspired by conditions that made them look to the *future*—to the destruction of capitalism and the triumph of Communism. Their attempt to uproot capitalism, ill-timed and badly organised as it was, marked the real beginning of the world revolution.

The great moments of the Paris Commune inspired Marx. As an historical experience it strengthened him in the view which he had advocated for over 20 years regarding the dictatorship of the proletariat. It also enabled him to see more clearly what he had earlier drawn attention to, *viz.*, that the workers cannot lay hold of the bourgeois political institutions and use them as the constructive force in their revolution. It was the Paris Commune that proved that the perpetuation of capitalist institutions by the masses can only result in the perpetuation of capitalism. It was the lessons of the Paris Commune which demonstrated that the proletarian revolution can only be achieved by the creation of special organs responsive to the needs of the workers and the problems of history. And above all, it was the Paris Commune that proved for all time the irrefragable truism that the conflict between capitalism and Communism, between capital and labour, between the old and the new, is one which can only be settled by force.

The Commune of 1871 was crushed by the superior *power* of the bourgeois. When we remember that we can understand why the rallying cry of the Russian Communists, in preparing the masses for their attack upon capitalism in 1917, was "All *Power* to the workers." The Bolsheviks triumphed not because they could argue better than any other group, not because they were the best organisers, not because they were the best exponents of Marxism—the Bolsheviks triumphed because they placed *Power* into the hands of the Russian peasants and workers. They triumphed because that *Power* overwhelmed their class enemies, and they rule to-day because the *Power* of the proletariat commands the respect of the imperialist states who would like to destroy them.

There are many reasons, therefore, why Communists should cherish the memory of the gallant Communards of Paris in 1871.

Vive la Commune!

Single Labour Front

DURING the past few months the Communist Parties of the various countries have been discussing the world-wide retreat of the masses before the determined onslaught, last year, of the international capitalist class. It is one of the best known facts in the history of Labour that when despotism is in the ascendant the various elements of the working-class movement tend to come

together to stave off defeat, to try and stem the retreat, and to attempt to so consolidate and rally the masses that a determined stand may be made. Many years ago, on the Clyde, the joint forces of reaction in Glasgow attempted to crush out the socialist movement by systematically breaking up all sorts and conditions of Labour meetings. On that occasion the three leading Socialist groups—the I.L.P., S.L.P., and S.D.P.—were compelled to stand shoulder to shoulder in defence of the working-class movement. Every other district, up and down the land, has had a similar experience. The same thing has taken place in nearly every capitalist country in the world.

During the war, when D.O.R.A. and many other despotic decrees were introduced, the various groups in the British Labour movement held closely together. The line that was drawn through the movement separated those who were opposed to the war as compared with those jingoes who supported it. The war was the vital thing. Enthusiastic supporters of the Labour Party were prepared to follow the lead of the extremists, who organised wonderful attacks upon Henderson and his kind. Likewise, the most extreme group in the Left-wing willingly rallied to the assistance of even such a man as Ramsay MacDonald when his meetings were proclaimed. Indeed, on one occasion in Glasgow, during the war, MacDonald was only able to speak thanks to the dauntless efforts of well equipped and determined revolutionary Socialists, who made no secret of their intention to use force in order to enable him to hold his meeting. These splendid fighters of the Clyde did not worry about the yelpings of certain cowardly curs, well hidden in the interior of their funk-holes, who argued that it was illogical to use *force* to hold a *pacifist* meeting! Certain theoreticians and logicians in the Labour movement can always find an academic reason for their *non*-activity in the fight of the masses. Dogmas, even Marxist dogmas, in some quarters, have become recipes for saving one's skin by not participating in the brunt of the class struggle. The Labour movement does not sweep forward in accordance with the precepts of logic. It marches to the attack to the tune of the immediate needs of the masses and the pressing concrete problems of the hour. Fatuous doctrinaires hold aloof from the mass struggle by jerking out feeble protests which, they bombastically declare, are the " implications of scientific Socialism "!

The crushing defeats of the masses last year on the industrial front have made the capitalist class imagine that there is no limit to the servility and apathy of the working-class. We must frankly admit that the *moralè* of Labour's army has been seriously shaken; the spirit of our troops is low indeed. The high-handed manner of the industrial magnates and the champagne inspired invective of the after-dinner speeches of the political tools of high finance, all point to a further contemplated attack upon Labour. It is their definite intention to uproot the working-class movement, if they can. The propertied interests know that the trade unions are weak and are almost on the point of bankruptcy. They know that the numbers of unemployed clamouring outside every factory is undermining the courage of those workers who happen to be working inside the factory. They understand that Labour leaders like Thomas, Clynes,

Shaw, etc., are prepared to do anything except put up a fight for the masses. Realising these things, how must we act? We must employ the tactics which we successfully used before 1914 and which we practised so well during the war. Faced with triumphant plutocracy we must, once again, stand together. All over the reactionary world the clarion call of Moscow rings out for a *Single Labour Front.*

The Growth of the Idea

DURING 1914-18 we took our stand with those in the Labour movement who opposed the war. Many of them we did not agree with and several of them we did not trust. We were thrown together by the impact of the war and by the brutal powers wielded by the Government through its various Orders in Council. While working with pacifists we always insisted upon the independence of our own organisation and to state our own case in our own way. In the workshop, through the unofficial shop committees, we worked with moderate elements who were held down to various daring policies because our men were at their side all the time. As shop stewards, we were only able to hold our influence over the masses by doing many things which we did not like. No Communist believes in overtime, but some workers in many factories did. Where these workers decided that the shop committee had to interview the management regarding overtime many Communists, as shop stewards, had to approach foremen and directors and discuss details regarding overtime rates. Certain dogmatic maniacs, at the time, said that Communist shop stewards should resign rather than discuss such a thing as overtime with the boss. But the well-balanced Communists understood that by winning the confidence of the rank and file, as shop stewards, they were there as workshop leaders when something of vital importance came along. The correctness of this tactic, of the single labour front in the workshop, was demonstrated time after time during the big strikes on the Clyde and elsewhere. In many of those fights the weak-kneed moderates were forced into action, against their will, because the real driving force and leadership rapidly passed into the hands of the Communist rebels, who demanded a single fighting front. The impetus of this movement even transformed sentimental moderates into dashing heroes, as was the case with David Kirkwood during the deportations from the Clyde. Similarly in Glasgow during the 40 hours' strike in 1919; the demand for a united industrial front by the Communist section resulted in forcing the best fighters in the I.L.P., like E. Shinwell, into the struggle and ultimately into a high court trial.

It is no mere coincidence that the men who carried out these tactics are now the most active spirits in the Communist Party. During the war, and since the Armistice, it became clearly obvious to all those who had studied the Single Labour Front tactics that it would be necessary to scrap the old doctrinaire Socialist Parties which were so deeply rooted to unchangeable dogmas that it was impossible to get them to move. Their members, who had participated in all the gallant struggles against the employers during the war, were only able to do so by tacitly

ignoring what had been the showy, pet theories of the various Socialist Parties. The conditions since 1914; the achievements of the Russian Communists and their tactics; the rapid disintegration and decadence of capitalism within the last few years, served to show the need for a revolutionary party that was able to combine a courageous membership with mobility in tactics. Courage and mobility were necessary because we have now reached the stage where the revolutionary movement must fight like an army and be able to advance, to retreat, to swerve this way and that way in accordance with the attacking plans and strength of the enemy. While we know what our ultimate object is we cannot determine our tactics in advance. These are forced upon us by the manœuvres of our class enemies. That is why our tactics change from month to month. This is not weakness; it is revolutionary alertness. As the class conflict grows fiercer, as the assaults of the propertied interests upon Labour become more incessant and brutal, so our tactics may change from week to week and even from day to day. "But you are not consistent," cries the short-sighted theoretician. Consistency, said Emerson, is the bugbear of petty minds.

The tactics of united action pursued in the workshop and on the political field during the war were carried out on a small scale.

Since 1914 the left-wing element has grown in experience and in influence. Since then it has created the greatest revolutionary force ever organised in this country. Since then the development of events has placed great opportunities within its reach. It now feels strong enough, both in confidence and in policy, to measure itself with the whole political and industrial Labour movement in the country. It believes that in the trade union struggle, by taking its place side by side with the Labour leaders, it will lend courage to the timid-hearted and expose the traitors in the line of action. And it will help in the Parliamentary struggle to rebuff the terrific onslaught that the imperialists, led by Churchill and F. E. Smith, are now organising.

Finding the Root

IT may be asked: Since the Communists believe in standing with other groups in the Labour movement, upon a united and common front, why was it necessary for them to break with the old Socialist Parties and form a new organisation? This question is not only applicable to Britain, it also covers the world-wide activity of the Communist International. The tactics of the Communist International were determined by the revolutionary possibilities thrown up at the end of the war. The November revolution in Germany had all the potentialities of becoming a final triumph for the masses. That it ended in a triumph for the big financiers was because the revolution was manned by leaders like the Ramsay MacDonald and Philip Snowden type. Had the German revolution reached its consummation in a triumphant proletarian dictatorship and linked its power with Russia, it would have sealed the fate of capitalism. The alliance of Soviet Germany with Russia would have saved the Hungarian revolution and would have fired the latent enthusiasm of the Austrian masses. Such a revolutionary achieve-

ment would instantly have reacted upon Italy and many other countries. These facts are well known to every intelligent observer. Nevertheless, Mr. R. C. Wallhead, writing in the *Labour Monthy*, on the Communist International, ignorantly contends that the Moscow group blundered badly " upon the assumption of the near approach of world-wide revolution." No one but an I.L.P.-er would dare deny that when the Communist International began to organise the revolutionary masses that the possibility of a world-wide revolution was in existence. Even in Vienna to-day, the headquarters of the inglorious Two-and-a-half International, the colleagues of Wallhead declare that they can get a revolution in Austria at any time. This is the crux of the whole problem. The Bauers and Adlers instead of leading the Austrian masses to the forefront of the European revolution, at a time when such assistance was demanded by the urgent needs of the world-revolution, restrained them and held them back and, therefore, betrayed those who badly required their assistance. It was not the Moscow leaders who blundered. They had most carefully considered every detail. The possibilities for world-wide revolution were rich indeed. The real blunderers were the leaders of the Second International, whose tactics were loaded with treachery. Nor must we forget the sorry and melancholy part played by the I.L.P.-minded European leaders who afterwards formed the Two-and-a-half International.

In building up the Communist International the Moscow group saw the power that could be concentrated upon a revolutionary situation by a band of determined and disciplined leaders acting in unison, and working to achieve a definite objective by applying mobile tactics and revolutionary strategy. The gathering together of such leaders and workers was a tremendous task. In order to accomplish this it became necessary to smash every old Socialist and doctrinaire group in the world *before the real revolutionary root of the international movement could be found*. The sharp knife of Moscow cut clean and true. It cut away parasitic growths; it pruned away the heavy and cumbersome foliage that was strangling growth. But it cherished the root and all the vigorous growing parts. The Wallheads, surveying the piled up heap of useless garbage, are now wailing because the Communist International cut with such vigour.

Function of Tactics

WHEN the Communist International, through its policy of splits, had brought together the best fighting elements in every country, it reached the end of the first phase of its development. Through its Theses and Statutes it secured international unity upon the ultimate aim of the revolutionary movement. What remains to be settled now is the difficult question of tactics. These involve the different methods of conducting the fight from day to day, through a series of skirmishes, which must be used to train and discipline the masses for the final assault upon Capitalism. As a result of Capitalism breaking down in so many places at the one time, in consequence of the class struggle manifesting itself in so many spheres, there are opened up numerous methods of attack, and it is extremely difficult to decide upon the

best and most effective mode of opposition. This problem is made increasingly difficult due to the rapid and subtle manœuvring of the propertied interests and to the different forms the struggle takes in various countries. It is because the Communist Parties are fighting organisations that they are compelled to devote very serious and careful attention to this important question of tactics. Those Socialist and Labour groups that do no fighting never need to worry about tactics. The inactive doctrinaire purists, of the extreme Left, engrossed and content with their dogmas and theories, are able to indulge in the luxury of sneering at " revolutionary strategy "; the sentimental pacifists, of the extreme Right, are naturally shocked at the wickedness of discussing the fighting tactics of the class war. Despite these peculiar and freakish elements, the question of tactics is one of fundamental importance. This is clearly seen by the important discussions upon tactics that are now taking place in the International revolutionary organisations, and it is upon this subject that new struggles within the movement will take place. So long as these tussles are subservient to the needs of the movement, and are not utilised to exploit personal grievances, or to air sinister and unfounded suspicions, they are infallible signs of health and of revolutionary ferment.

One of the most important struggles within the ranks of the Russian Communist Party, over tactics, took place in the early days of the Soviet revolution. The historical debates regarding the policy to be pursued by the Soviet delegates at Brest Litovsk can now be examined and judged in the light of four years of experience. Lenin pleaded, most strenuously, to compromise with the all-powerful military representatives of Germany. He was opposed by doctrinaires whose theoretical knowledge made them confuse strategy with romanticism. They were prepared to fight and go down in defeat. This was dramatic, but it was not tactical. Lenin's policy was to retreat in order to gain time and get a " breathing space." This tactic enabled the Soviet forces to remain in power and to advance at the first possible moment. Behind Lenin's strategy there was something else. His Marxist training enabled him to see that the very ferocity of Germany's punishment of Russia would so stimulate the Allies that they would press forward with renewed enthusiasm to stamp out Prussian militarism. Lenin so manœuvred that he played his game with history working in his favour. And he won!

The doctrinaires who are afraid of the tactics of the Communist International are like the romantic comrades who opposed Lenin's policy regarding Brest Litovsk. They do not trust the Labour Party, they are suspicious of Henderson & Co., *and therefore* they refuse to have anything to do with it. This is sheer romanticism. Factors in history are not overcome by ignoring them. These must be faced. It is too late in the day to study revolutionary tactics by emulating the policy of an ostrich confronted by approaching dangers. And, besides, the Communist International does not ask us to trust the Labour Party or to place our confidence in the hands of Henderson, Macdonald, etc. But *it demands that we trust in ourselves and have confidence in our own policy.*

History on our Side

THE need for a Single Labour Front is obvious. We are passing through one of the most important periods in history. The masses have been compelled to retreat, due, in many instances, to the compromises and betrayal of their own leaders. As a result of the pessimism created in the ranks of the workers, in consequence of their defeats and betrayals, they are saying very little at the present moment. The master class, by its continual attack upon wages, working hours, and the few privileges won by the workers after decades of struggle, is driving the masses into a renewed revolt. It is when the new struggle commences that the treacheries of Thomas, Williams & Co., will be remembered. When the next industrial outburst takes place the Communists must be so placed that they will be able to stand side by side with the old leaders during the fight. So long as these leaders struggle in the interest of the masses so long will they receive the unstinted and ungrudging support of the Communists. We will fight on the Single Labour Front with them against the enemies of the workers. The moment, however, any treachery arises the Communists will speedily unmask it.

The Russian Communists were confronted with a similar problem when the Red Army was created. They had neither generals nor commanders. With that boldness which is the distinguishing feature of the Bolsheviks, they did not shrink from placing the army under military experts trained under the Tsar who brought with them many of the prejudices of the old régime. The Communists placed the striking power of the revolution in such hands not because they trusted the Tsarist officers less, but because they trusted their own judgment more. By appointing Communist political commisars for the army who stood side by side with the Tsarist officers, particularly during critical battles, they were able to scotch treachery and prevent trickery. Had some of the present critics of the Communist International been placed in the position of the Soviet Government in 1918, when a Red Army was needed, they would have spent their time denouncing all Tsarist officers, and would have protested at the very idea of such people being permitted to come in contact with the soldiers. In 1918, the Soviet Government argued, as the Communist International argues to-day, that the place to test people is in action during a struggle.

As a result of the peculiar conditions under which the Communist Parties in the various countries were organised—through a series of splits and secessions—it has been very easy for our enemies, of the Right Wing, to denounce us to the masses as disrupters and wreckers. This argument is used in every country where the Communists are active. It behoves us to dispel this form of criticism. It is useless to meet such methods of attack with mere arguments. We can demonstrate to the masses our desire for real proletarian unity by *deeds*, by taking our place on the Single Front of Labour.

The most important reason, however, why the Communists should attempt to ensure a Single Labour Front is to be found in the

critical conditions that have been created by the breakdown of Capitalism. Bad as is the present plight of Labour, it is nothing compared to the alarming predicament of the propertied interests. Indeed, it is the rapid decadence of Capitalism, which became vividly obvious in the course of last year, that makes the tactics of a Single Labour Front the only possible policy to pursue in the meantime. During the last few months Capitalism has been dashing itself upon the barriers of its own insoluble problems, and is now rattling on the road to destruction. It is this pregnant fact that makes all analogies with tactics pursued in 1848, 1865, 1912, or even 1920 not only illusory but stupidly dangerous. Marxism does not look upon history as a series of dates. A chronological history is a history for fools and pedants. Marxism conceives history in the terms of social conditions and class relationships. The policy of the Single Labour Front, upon a modified scale, was practical and was practised by the active revolutionary movement in the past. But now that Capitalism is breaking up, now that every small struggle produces a revolutionary crisis, now that the foundations of governments and political institutions are rumbling, now that imperialism is threatened by the rise of subject nations and enslaved races, now when Capitalism and its political and industrial leaders are defending themselves by attacking the Labour movement and are not discriminating between the Lefts and the Rights—now is the time when the working class movement must exert every ounce of its strength in a united onslaught upon the present system. The very historical conditions are in alignment with the Communists, who demand unity of effort. Never was there such a time as the present. If we are jaundiced pessimists enmeshed in the toils of suspicious cynicism we can sulk and—do nothing. By such a policy we only leave the field open to the very leaders whom we distrust, and who can consistently and justly contend that we Communists are afraid to take our place in the brunt of the fight on the Labour front. Whether the Thomases and Hendersons like it or not they will be forced to fight, and we must be near at hand to see that they fight for the workers. The coming struggle will make or unmake the old leaders. And only by being beside them will the new leaders get their chance. But such an opportunity will never arise by standing aside as superior critics.

Close up the Ranks

THERE are those who may say that the Communists are now willing to go forward and create a Single Labour Front because Moscow has demanded it. Were this true it would make no difference, inasmuch as the Communists are disciplined units of the iron battalions of the International proletarian army. The Communist soldier who is so important that he cannot take his orders from the revolutionary General Headquarter's Staff, should quit the fight. There are groups of philosophical anarchists and other bodies for such as he. Such an individual is not only a source of weakness but he has a depressing influence on other members. He weakens the *morale* and fighting fibre of those around him.

The policy of the Single Labour Front has always been the aim of every active revolutionary organisation. That it was not put

into operation upon a grand scale was due to unfavourable conditions. We are not embarking upon this tactic merely because Lenin wishes it, or because Zinoviev demands it. The Communist International has been studying very closely the discussions upon tactics that have been taking place in almost every Communist Party of the world. As a result of that study it found there was *one* important point which was being advanced in every other country. The various Communist Parties were all feeling the need for a Single Labour Front. This policy was discussed and thrashed out, first in one party and then another, until it became an international question. In Germany and elsewhere it was taken up with acclamation. In Britain it was set out in the *Communist*, in the "Are we Realists?" articles, and discussed in other papers and in the branches. Thus we see that what the Communist International did was to outline an international policy in keeping with what was agitating the minds of the Communist Parties all over the world.

Elsewhere, in this issue, we publish the Single Labour Front Theses of the Executive Committee. These were being translated specially for the *Review*, when it was found that our valuable contemporary, the *Labour Monthly*, had already completed a translation for its readers. By the gracious action of the editor we print the Theses as published in that journal. The new Theses are important, and with the rapid approach of the Policy Conference of the British Party we urge all our members, and readers too, to discuss them very carefully.

Just as the splits and secessions of the last few years marked a necessary phase in the growth of the revolutionary movement, so the new Theses is the harbinger of a new step forward of the masses in their march to new struggles and new victories.

WM. PAUL.

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The Single Front

All in for Action!

By J. T. MURPHY

WITHIN the next few months measures will be taken which must launch the working class movement of the world into making gigantic strides in the direction of a united struggle against Capitalism. It may also result in the greatest exposure of the "yellow" leaders that modern history can show. The call has gone forth for a single front for all Labour forces. The Communist International issued a manifesto on December 18, 1921, clearly and unhestitatingly taking up the challenge for working-class unity which the leaders of Amsterdam, the Second International, and their compatriots, have tripped upon the tongue for years without meaning anything.

Preliminary canters have begun. The Vienna International at its meeting on December 19, 1921, indicated its willingness for an all-in Conference. The Paris Conference of Socialist and Labour Parties agreed to move in this direction, although old fogies such as Mr. T. Shaw actually trotted out the hypocritical cant about guarantees from the German workers. Williams, of the "Yellows," has written appealingly in the *Daily Herald* for the united front whilst giving knowing tips concerning inside information gathered from the Reds. Longuet, trying to score off the French Communist Party and revive the French Socialist Party, writes in a similar strain. We have undoubtedly entered a new stage in the history of the working-class movement.

That all will be smooth sailing in this direction we cannot for one moment assume. Already the Communists of France have shown decided differences of opinion as to the wisdom of this call of the Communist International. Others of the revolutionary movement will also have their doubts and fears, whilst the leaders of the union movement, etc., will undoubtedly be in a mess with their conflicting aspirations. Some there are who think the Communist International is becoming "moderate" under the influence of the transitions in Russia. Others regard the move as a new tactic and so on.

But the move has not sprung, Minerva like, from the heads of the Communist International. It is the historical product of the forces operating in the arena of the international class struggle and cannot be understood or appreciated apart from them. It comes at a time when the working-class everywhere is in retreat. The weakening of the old internationals set them moving towards each other in the closing months of last year. As far back as October 19 the Vienna International and the Second International tried to square accounts and failed. Since then the battering of the sectional battalions of the workers in all countries has become so severe that it is a common cry that something must be done to stop the retreat. Early in December the German Communist Party appealed to the

Executive Council of the Communist International to move in the direction of a united front. The Norwegian Communist Party followed, and in an effort to avert a split in the French Trades Union movement, consequent on the ascendency of the supporters of the Red International of Labour Unions, the Red International Executive tried to open negotiations with the Amsterdam leaders. The prospect of an international economic conference called by the Capitalist Governments, and to include the Proletarian Government of Russia, to deal with the world's economic crisis, stressed the necessity of a move in the direction indicated by Communist International.

Paradoxical as it may seem, this step, taken because the workers are everywhere in retreat, is the greatest stride forward since the founding of the Communist International and the early efforts to rally the unions to the Moscow under the banner of the Red International of Labour Unions. And the founding of the Communist International in turn is the greatest stride forward since Marx concluded the first Communist Manifesto with the clarion call, "Workers of all lands unite."

There have been internationals before this, but they were more international in name than in fact, foreshadowings of the International that was yet to be. 1864 saw the First International formed in London under the guidance of Marx. 1872 saw its end in America. The period of colonial expansion provided too many facilities for the masses to become adapted to Capitalism for any international of working-men to become an effective organ of struggle against Capitalism. True, the idea had been born of the struggle, but history had not yet marshalled her big battalions behind the idea.

It was not until 1889 that the Second International was born. Then the great idea came forth again, not strongly, but nevertheless there it was. The forces of production had been and were rapidly reaching over frontiers, increasing the proletarian army by millions and closing up the safety valves of colonialism. From this time onward to 1914 internationals began to spring up monotonously. The miners established the International Miners' Federation in 1890. Woodworkers, printers, textile workers, metal workers, tailors, hatters, potters, etc., followed in succeeding years. The beginnings of the International Federation of Trade Unions were seen in 1901 in the formation of the "International Secretariat of the National Trade Union Centres." By 1914, the working class movement had thrown up thirty-two International Secretariats, besides the Second International of Socialist Parties and the ponderous International Secretariat of the National Trade Union Centres.

At no time can it be said that any one of these fulfilled the basic needs of a workers' international of struggle. The union secretariats were never more than information departments, and their conferences trailed along the old traditions against politics. Even so late as 1909 the Christiania Conference declined to discuss theoretical questions of the tactics of the Trades Union Movement. Only the miners succeeded in drawing up an international programme by 1913, and how far the miners had become an international of action is evidenced in the terrific defeat of the British

miners in 1921 despite the revival of the international after the war. The whole movement was hampered with the limitations peculiar to the individual experiences of the national organisations. Autonomy, no politics, nationalism, all products of capitalist ideology, bound them in fetters whilst the fundamental forces intensifying the class struggle were sweeping them from the village green into the international arena of class war. International direction of the struggle was still a dream of a small minority.

Equally immature and equally confused was the political Second International. It was a product of the same period and as an organisational force totally incapable of international action because of the many conflicting elements within it. Like the unions, it grew up in the spirit of nationalism, and was equally limited. Nevertheless, within its limitations enormous cultural work was achieved. Socialist philosophy emerged more and more as the international conference fulfilled the rôle of a debating school until the mutterings of war sharpened the internal conflicts. History was steadily marshalling her proletarian forces behind the international idea, but those responsible for the harnessing of the forces were hopelessly divided. Time and again compromise glossed over the divisions, and in 1910 we had the ironic situation of the Copenhagen Congress defeating the resolution for a general strike against war by 131 to 51 votes as outside the scope of the political international to decide. The trade union International at its Christiania Conference in 1907 would not allow the question of a strike against war to be discussed, and remitted it to the Socialist International as a "political" question. Tut! tut!

These developments were symptomatic of the period in which the internationals grew, and whilst we offer no condonation of either the defects of the leaders, or the incompetence of executive committees, the fact remains that these incidents were but indications of a conflict of forces emerging from insularity and petty bourgeois ways of thought to internationalism and class war. The First International gave out the far-flung call for working-class solidarity throughout the world. The Second International and all the attendant organisations of the period in which it thrived, were the products of the painful struggles of the masses as they hammered out, through concrete experience, the weapons of their final triumph. It was the period of expanding, ever-developing capitalism conceding and conceding to the ever-growing proletariat that capitalism might continue to expand. It soaked the proletariat with its teachings, and moulded it with its institutions. No wonder, therefore, when the crash of 1914 came upon the world that "history took her broom in hand and swept the internationals apart in all directions." She banged the door of the conferences, and kicked the leaders into the school of life. She flung the nationalism of the internationals into the terrible crucible of war that out of it might come the Internationalism of revolution. Thus ended an epoch of capitalism and working class history. Thus old forms and limitations were violently shattered.

The war ran the nations of Europe into exhaustion, and made impossible the continuation of the policy of concessions to the proletariat. Having spilled the blood of millions of its youth to win

the victories of capitalism, it attacked the whole social life of the masses to squeeze from them the spoils of victory, it intensified the process of class consolidation. The weakest links in the chain of capitalist states snapped asunder under the pressure of these social contradictions of capitalism. Through the great gap rushed the Russian revolution before even the proletariat of the western countries and their leaders had recovered from the shock of war. Not a single international was left to function. The Russian workers were alone, and in their revolutionary struggle they passed through the stages of cleansing and consolidating the class position through which the international working class had yet to pass. They brushed on one side, after bitter struggles, all the old limitations of craft, trade, nationalism, pacificism, etc., and strode forward on the basis of working class unity in action, led by the most consolidated party of working class history, towards the conquest of power. This was no formal sentimental unity of phrase, but a unity forged by struggle and conflict directed towards a definite objective. No longer could there be any equivocation by the unions as to what was political and what industrial. Here life flung them all into the political struggle for power, and willingly they accepted the guidance of the party which experience had proved most capable of leadership. Out of this conflict rose the new Communist International equally united and equally definite in its objective.

From the moment it burst into the international arena, calling the workers of all lands to action, the process of assimilation in the working class movement received an impetus hitherto unknown. The old leaders of the old internationals were resentful, and strove with might and main to stop the gravitation of the masses of the world to the heart of the revolution, and to the kind of international unity all their experience had been demanding. They resurrected the 32 secretariats and re-christened the International secretariat of National Trade Union Centres, and it became the Amsterdam International. The old bones of the Second International were so shaky, that a new intermediate international was created, and for the first time in the history of the working class movement internationalism became a live, vital issue, challenging the masses at every turn of the way.

Within three years the Communist International organised a party membership three millions strong, which is fast becoming an International Communist Party. Around it gather the unions in the Red International of Labour Unions, along with large minorities of the unions affiliated to Amsterdam. For a period 1919-1920 the old brigades appeared to revive and thrive on the apparent revival of capitalism. But 1921 shattered the illusion. The struggle of capitalism to save itself from the consequences of its surgery compels it to ferociously attack the workers in every direction. The old leaders, fearful of struggle, bid retreat. The workers retreat and retreat until the retreat becomes a rout. Bankruptcy faces the unions, and misery and distress increases a thousandfold until the retreat leads to the UNITED FRONT. It is the gravitation of the workers of the world, through the tragic paths of suffering, to united class action for liberation through the conquest of power.

To save themselves the workers must unite in action, and action leads to conquest. There is no escape.

True to itself as the proven leader of the masses in action, the Communist International seeks to harness the forces history thus drives in its direction. It has no alternative. The Communist International is not the whole working class, but it has no interests apart from the interests of the working class. It is the workers' human instrument striving to enrol all the masses under its banner and lead them to Communism as the one solution to their problems. It has defined the problem as follows:—"The new Labour Organisation is established for the purpose of *organising united action of the world proletariat aspiring to the same goal*—the overthrow of capitalism, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of an international Soviet Republic, for the complete elimination of classes and the realisation of Socialism as the first step towards the Communist Commonwealth." This definition of the aims of the Communist International distinctively defines all the questions of tactics to be solved. Born in the midst of intense revolutionary period, and clearly recognising the violent inception of the Russian Revolution as the beginning of the epoch of revolutions ever widening towards the world revolution, it could not approach the task thus defined as a metaphysical problem to be solved by a new treatise on ideal forms of organisation. Nor could it approach the problem as something apart from and independent of the daily struggles of the masses throughout the world, for it is the cumulative effect of these struggles which produce the revolutionary crises of history. Nor could it build its organisation in the libraries, valuable as these institutions may be, or set itself the task of making its own organisation perfect, and then begin on world problems and working class battles. It is the International of Conflict emerging from the historic struggles of the workers rich with the ideas and lessons of all preceding epochs, growing from strength to strength with every intensification of the fight. It has not only to organise within itself those who believe in Communism. It has to translate its leadership of the workers into concrete terms of their daily needs, and harness all forces converging upon the goal of the proletarian conquest of power. It has not only to examine programmes ; it has to measure forces. It has not worried so much about perfect organisational forms. It believes that it is revolutionary deeds which help the workers forward from darkness to light.

These are the facts of its history which have determined its attitude to the old parties and the unions. The old parties were challenged with the needs of the revolutionary epoch, and accepted, split, or rejected according to their willingness to measure up to the needs of the workers' struggle for power. The unions were called to new leadership by the establishment of the Red International of Labour Unions, and the opening of war upon the leaders of the Amsterdam International, who kept the workers divided in their distress. Within fifteen months sixteen million workers rallied to the new centre of international unionism. The Amsterdam leaders have become savage in their defeats, and turned to union smashing,

expelling minorities and majorities alike as the masses turned Red. To think that the fight against these leaders can stop for a single moment is to make a great mistake. The fight must and will go on though weapons change. The call for the united front is the introduction of another weapon, the weapon of the mass struggle. We cannot desert the masses because the leaders are treacherous. Draw them one and all into the fight. Action tests all alike. Its dynamics cleanse and purge as by fire.

This, then, is the key to the lead of the Communist International in this hour of crisis in the history of the working class movement of the world. Draw together the organisations of the workers, even with their present leaders, for common action on a common programme, that by action the process of clarification, cleansing, and consolidation of the movement can proceed apace and pave the way to the final victory. The Amsterdam leaders, the Second International leaders, the Vienna leaders dare refuse at their peril. They cannot stand alone. Capitalism is deserting them. They must fight with the masses and with us or perish. Most probably they will perish.

GENERAL ELECTION

The Executive Committee of the C.P. has decided to contest a number of seats at the forthcoming General Election. Already the following constituencies have been decided upon. LEYTON (EAST), COVENTRY, DUNDEE, MOTHERWELL, GLASGOW (TRADESTON), GORTON (EAST), RHONDDA and probably WEST FIFE and WALTHAMSTOW

Money is urgently needed for these Contests

A minimum sum of £4,000 is needed to contest ten seats

The Executive Committee of the Party appeals to all avowed Communists to render assistance. The Party membership does not include any wealthy "money bags." The working class is the only class we can look to for any finance.

We appeal therefore for contributions from every reader of "THE COMMUNIST REVIEW."

Comrades this appeal is urgent. Our candidates are in the field and we must see that they go to the poll.

We are out to secure the return, for the first time in British History, of representatives of the revolutionary working class.

HELP IN THE FIGHT AND HELP QUICKLY

All monies to Electoral Committee, C.P.G.B., 16, King St., Covent Garden, W.C.

All monies will be duly acknowledged

The United Working-Class Front

Theses adopted by the Communist International on December 18th, 1921.

The New International Position

THE international Labour movement at the present time is passing through a peculiar transitional stage, which confronts the Communist International as a whole, and also its constituent sections with new and important tactical problems. The fundamental characteristics of this stage are as follows: There is a heightening of the world economic crisis. Unemployment is increasing. In almost every country international capital has passed over to systematic attack against the workers, expressing itself first of all in the cynically frank endeavours on the part of the capitalists to reduce wages and lower the whole standard of life of the workers. The bankruptcy of the Versailles peace is becoming increasingly evident to the widest masses. The inevitability of a new imperialist war, or even of several such wars, unless the international proletariat overthrows the capitalist structure, has become evident. This is eloquently confirmed by the proceedings at Washington.

The Move to the Left

2. Under the pressure of reality the revival of reformist illusions, which, after being nearly overcome owing to the first complexions of events, had developed among a considerable section of the workers, has now begun to give way to a very different spirit. The "democratic" and reformist illusions of certain of the workers (partly the most privileged workers, and partly the most backward and least politically experienced), which arose anew after the cessation of the imperialist butchery, have faded before having had time to bloom. The course and the outcome of the further "labours" of the Washington Conference will deliver a still greater blow to these illusions. If half a year ago it was still possible to speak with some degree of truth of a kind of general move to the Right on the part of the working masses in Europe and America, then at the present time, on the contrary, it is possible to affirm unconditionally *the beginning of a move to the Left.*

Faith in the Communists

3. On the other hand, under the influence of the ever-intensifying onslaught of capital, there has arisen amongst the workers an elemental, literally irresistible *impulse towards unity*, proceeding parallel with the gradual growth of faith of wide masses of workers in the Communists. Ever-enlarging circles of workers are now for

the first time beginning to appreciate the bravery of the Communist vanguard, which threw itself into the struggle on behalf of working-class interests at a time when the bulk of the workers remained indifferent or even hostile to Communism. Ever-enlarging circles of workers are now becoming convinced that only the Communists have been acting in protection of their economic and political interests, under most difficult circumstances and involving sometimes the greatest sacrifices. Accordingly, respect for and trust in the uncompromising Communist vanguard of the working-class begins once more to show itself, now that even the more ignorant sections of the workers have seen the vanity of reformist hopes and have realised that, outside the class-struggle, there is no salvation from the predatory campaign of Capitalism.

Unity

4. The Communist parties now can, and should, reap the reward of their struggle carried on earlier under the very unfavourable circumstances of indifference among the masses. But while there is developing an ever-increasing trust in the irreconcilable, fighting Communist elements of the working class, the mass of the workers as a whole are being moved by an unprecedented attraction for unity. New strata of little experienced workers, awakening into active political life, dream of the unity of all workers' parties, and even of all workers' organisations in general, hoping thereby to strengthen resistance to the capitalist campaign. New strata of workers, who often have not previously taken part in the political struggle, are, once again, putting to the test of their own personal experience the practical plans of reformism. In addition to these, numbers of workers, belonging to the old Social Democratic Parties, cannot reconcile themselves with the campaign of the Social Democrats and Centrists against the Communist vanguard. They are already beginning to demand agreement with the Communists. But they have still not outlived their faith in the reformists, and still largely support the Second and Amsterdam Internationals. These workers insufficiently clearly formulate their plans and intentions, but in general their new disposition leads them to desire to reconstruct a common front and to try to make the parties and Unions of the second and Amsterdam Internationals fight by the side of the Communists against the capitalist attack. In so far such a disposition is favourable to progress. In the nature of things faith in reformism has been shattered. In the present circumstances in which the working-class movement finds itself, every serious mass advance, even if beginning only with partial slogans, inevitably involves in its course the more general root questions of revolution. The Communist vanguard can conquer only if the new strata of workers convince themselves from their own personal experience of the illusory nature of reformism and of the evils of class peace.

The Revolutionary Protest

5. At the first beginning of the development of a conscious and organised protest against the treachery of the leaders of the Second International, the latter held in their hands the whole

apparatus of working-class organisation. They used the principle of unity and proletarian discipline in order mercilessly to gag the voice of revolutionary proletarian protest, and to hand over without opposition all the power of the workers' organisations to the service of national imperialism. Under these conditions the revolutionary wing had to win for itself at all costs freedom of agitation and propaganda, i.e., freedom to explain to the masses the unparalleled historical betrayal which the parties and Trade Unions, called into being by the workers themselves, have been and are still perpetrating.

New Form of Old Treachery

6. Complete liberty of action having been secured in respect of organisation to ensure *agitation by ideas* amongst the workers, Communists in all countries are now seeking to secure widespread and integral *unity of action* amongst the workers. The heroes of the Second and Amsterdam Internationals preach unity in words, but in fact act to the contrary. The social-peace reformists of Amsterdam, having failed to suppress by their organisation the voice of protest, criticism and revolutionary appeal, are now trying to get out of the blind alley into which they have brought themselves by introducing splits, disorganisations and organised sabotage into the struggle of the working masses. One of the most important tasks for Communists at the present time lies in exposing by deeds this new form of the old treachery.

Reformist Treachery to Unity

7. Deep-seated internal processes, which owe their inception to the general economic position of the workng class in Europe and America, have lately, however, in turn forced the diplomatists and leaders of the Second, Two-and-a-half and Amsterdam Internationals to emphasise the question of unity on their part as well. But while for those strata of the workers who are newly awakening to conscious life, and are still little tried, the cry of the united front is the expression of a genuine and sincere desire to combine the forces of the oppressed classes against the assault of the capitalist class, on the other hand for the leaders and diplomats of the Second, Two-and-a-half and Amsterdam Internationals the proclamation of this motto is only a new attempt to dupe the workers and to inveigle them by a new method into the old meshes of class-collaboration. The imminent danger of a new imperialist war (Washington), the growth of armaments, the conclusion behind the scenes of new secret imperialist treaties, all this not only does not cause the leaders of the Second, Two-and-a-half and Amsterdam Internationals to sound the alarm, but, on the contrary, will inevitably arouse in the Second and Amsterdam Internationals divisions on the whole of just such a type as exist in the camps of the international bourgeoisie. This phenomenon is inevitable inasmuch as the corner-stone of reformism is solidarity of the reformist "Socialists" with the bourgeoisie of "their" country.

Such then are the general conditions under which the Communist International as a whole and its separate sections have to formulate their attitude to the call for a united Socialist front.

The United Workers' Front

8. Considering this position, the Executive Committee of the Communist International finds that the watchword of the Third World Congress of the Communist International, " To the masses !" and the interests of the Communist movement in general, demand from the Communist Parties and from the Communist International as a whole *support of the watchword of a united working-class front* and the taking of the initiative in this question into their hands. To this end it is necessary, of course, to formulate the policy in concrete terms according to the conditions and circumstances obtaining in each country.

Germany

9. In Germany, the Communist Party at its last Congress supported the watchword of a united working-class front and recognised the possibility of supporting a " united working-class Government " which would be at all inclined to struggle seriously against capitalist power. The Communist International Executive considers this decision absolutely correct, and is confident that the German Communist Party, while fully maintaining its independent political position, will be able to penetrate into the widest masses of workers and to strengthen the influence of Communism among them. In Germany, more than in any other country, the masses of the workers are becoming convinced of the correctness of the Communists' attitude, when they refused to throw down their arms at the period of greatest difficulty and persistently exposed the illusion of the reformist devices for weathering a crisis which could only be settled along the lines of proletarian revolution. In so far as the Party keeps to this method, it will attract also in time all the revolutionary Anarchist or Syndicalist democrats, who to-day are outside the struggle of the masses.

France

10. In France the Communist Party contains the majority of the politically organised workers. This makes the question of the united front different in France from other countries, but the policy is essential here also in order that all responsibility for splitting the united working-class camp shall rest with our opponents. The French revolutionary Trade Unionists are quite justified in their stand against the dismemberment of the Trade Unions—that is to say, in the fight for the unity of the workers in their economic struggle against the bourgeoisie. But the struggle of the workers does not end in the factory; unity is also necessary in the stand against the increase in the cost of living, against growing reaction, against imperialist politics, etc. The policy of reformists and centrists has, on the other hand, ended in a split in the party, and now threatens the unity of the Trade Union movement, which merely shows that Jouhaux, just as Longuet, is actually serving the

bourgeoisie. The watchword of working-class unity, in the political fight, just as in the economic struggles against the bourgeoisie, remains the best method of nailing all plans for dismemberment to the pillory. Though the reformist Confédération Générale du Travail, led by Jouhaux, Merrheim and company, will betray the interests of the French working class at every step, it is nevertheless necessary that French Communists and the revolutionary elements of the French working class in general, at the beginning of each mass strike or revolutionary demonstration or other immediate activity on the part of the masses, should propose participation of the reformists in support of the workers' attack and systematically expose them when they refuse to assist in the revolutionary struggle of the workers. In this way we shall most easily win over the masses of non-party workers. Of course this must not under any circumstances induce the French Communist Party to weaken its independence, as, for instance, by supporting any sort of "Left bloc" during election campaigns, or by adopting a lenient attitude to those wavering "Communists" who are still bewailing the split with the social-patriots.

England

11. In England the reformist Labour Party has refused to accept the affiliation of the Communist Party on the same basis as that of other working-class organisations. Influenced by the growth of the tendency amongst the workers referred to, the London Labour Party recently adopted a resolution in favour of the affiliation of the British Communist Party to the Labour Party. Of course England occupies an exceptional position in this matter, for under its peculiar conditions the Labour Party appears in the guise of a general unification of Labour forces. The task of the English Communists is to carry on an energetic campaign for affiliation. The open treachery of the Trade Union leaders during the coal strike, the systematic capitalist attack on wages, etc.—all this has provoked a great agitation among the English proletariat, which is gradually becoming revolutionary. The English Communists should at all costs exert themselves to get among the mass of the workers with the watchword of the united working-class front against the capitalists.

Italy

12. In Italy the young Communist Party, extremely implacable in its hostility to the reformist Italian Socialist Party and to the social-traitors of the Italian Confederation of Labour (which has recently just completed its treason to the proletarian revolution), is nevertheless beginning a vigorous agitation under the watchword of the united fighting front of the working class against the capitalist offensive. The Executive of the Communist International considers this agitation entirely correct, and insists only that it shall be strengthened in the same direction. The Executive Committee of the Communist International is convinced that with sufficient foresight the Italian Communist Party will be able to give the whole International an example of militant Marxism in its

work of unmasking the treason and hesitation of reformists and centrists, who have wrapped themselves in the cloak of Communism; it will also be capable of conducting a campaign for the workers' united front against the bourgeoisie, penetrating with indefatigable energy and more and more persistence into the heart of the working masses. It is needless to say that the Party will do its utmost to attract to the struggle all the revolutionary elements in the ranks of the Anarchists and Syndicalists.

Czecho-Slovakia

13. In Czecho-Slovakia the Communist Party numbers in its ranks the majority of the politically organised workers, and thus its tasks, in some respects, are analogous to those of the French Communists. While strengthening its independence and breaking its last links of organisation with the centrists, the Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia must at the same time popularise in its country the watchword of the united front of the working class against the bourgeoisie, and thereby finally expose in the eyes of even the most unenlightened workers the character of the social-democratic and centrist leaders, as in practice the agents of Capitalism. At the same time also the Communists of Czecho-Slovakia must strengthen their work for winning over the Trade Unions which are still largely in the hands of yellow leaders.

Sweden

14. In Sweden, as the result of the last Parliamentary elections, a position has been created in which the small fraction of Communist deputies can play an important part. One of the chief leaders of the Second International, who is also Prime Minister for the Swedish bourgeoisie, viz., M. Branting, finds himself at the present time in such a position that, for securing a Parliamentary majority, he cannot be indifferent to the attitude of the Communist fraction. The Executive Committee of the Communist International believes that, under certain conditions, the Communist fraction of the Swedish Parliament cannot refuse its support to the Menshevik ministry of Branting; just in the same way as the German Communists have already, quite rightly, done in certain of the provincial Governments of Germany (Thuringia and Saxony). This, however, does not mean at all that the Swedish Communists should in any respect infringe their independence or desist from exposing the character of the Menshevik Government. On the contrary, the more power the Mensheviks possess, the greater will be their betrayal of the working class, and consequently the greater the necessity for the Communists to exert themselves in exposing the Mensheviks before the widest masses of the workers. It should also be the duty of the Communist Party to attract the Syndicalist workers to join the fight against the bourgeoisie.

America

15. In America a beginning has been made in uniting all the Left elements, both of the political and Trade Union movement; this gives the Communists the opportunity of taking a leading part

in this process of the unification of the Left to penetrate right into the great masses of the American proletariat. By forming Communist groups everywhere where there are any Communists, American Communists ought to see to it that they take the lead in the movement to unite all revolutionary elements, and should now particularly advocate the watchword of the united working-class front in the fight for the unemployed, etc. The chief accusation against the Gompers Trade Unions should be that these will not join in the formation of a united front of the workers against Capitalism in defence of the unemployed, etc. The special task of the Communist Party nevertheless remains the organisation within its ranks of the best elements in the I.W.W.

Switzerland

16. In Switzerland our Party has succeeded in achieving certain successes on the lines indicated. Thanks to the Communist agitation for a united revolutionary front, the Trade Union bureaucracy has been forced to call a special Trade Union Congress, which is soon to take place. The Communists at this conference will be able to expose before all the workers the lies of reformism, and to weld further together the revolutionary forces of the proletariat.

Other Countries

17. In a whole series of other countries the question has different aspects depending on the different local conditions. The Executive Committee of the Communist International, in making general observations, is confident that the Communist Parties will succeed in applying them in accordance with the circumstances obtaining in the given countries.

Communist Independence

18. The Executive Committee of the Communist International counts as a primary and fundamental condition, of general application to the Communist Parties of all countries, that every Communist Party which enters into any agreement with parties of the Second or Two-and-a-half Internationals should retain absolute independence and complete autonomy for the expression of its views and for the criticism of its opponents. Imposing on themselves a discipline of *action*, it is obligatory that Communists should preserve for themselves, not only up to and after action, but, if necessary, *even during action*, the right and possibility of expressing their opinion on the policy of all working-class organisations, without exception. The rejection of this condition is not permissible under any circumstances. While supporting the watchword of the maximum unity of all working-class organisations, Communists, in every practical action taken against the capitalist front, must not on any account refrain from putting forward their views, which are only the logical expression of the defence of the interests of the working class as a whole.

Russian Experience

19. The Communist International Executive considers it useful to remind all fraternal parties of the experience of the Russian Bolsheviks, the only party so far which has succeeded in obtaining victory over its bourgeoisie and taking power into its hands. In the course of the fifteen years which have elapsed since the birth of Bolshevism until its victory over the bourgeoisie (1903-1917), Bolshevism carried on an incessant struggle against reformism or (what is the same thing) against Menshevism. But nevertheless, during this period they more than once concluded agreements with the Mensheviks. A formal split with the Mensheviks occurred in the spring of 1905. By the end of 1905, however, under the influence of the impetuous Labour movement, the Bolsheviks had already organised a united front with the Mensheviks. A second and final split was formally completed in January, 1912, but between 1905 and 1912, the split was replaced by unity and semi-unity in 1906-7, and again in 1910. These unifications and half-unifications were not only due to the ups and downs of fractional struggles, but also to the direct pressure of wide masses of workers, who, newly awakened to active political life, demanded, in essence, the possibility of seeing by the light of their own experience whether the Menshevik policy was radically divergent from the path of revolution.

Before the new revolutionary revival after the Lena strikes, not long before the beginning of the imperialist war, there was observed among the masses of workers in Russia a specially strong impulse to unity, which the diplomatist leaders of Russian Menshevism tried to utilise for their own ends, much in the same way as the leaders of the Second, Two-and-a-half and Amsterdam Internationals are now doing. The Russian Bolsheviks did not answer that impulse to unity by the refusal of any and every kind of united front. On the contrary, they countered the diplomatic game of the Mensheviks with the slogan "Unity from Below!"—i.e., unity of the working mass itself in the practical struggle of the workers' demands against Capitalism. Experience proved that this was the only correct reply, and as a result of these tactics, the expression of which varied according to the special conditions of the time and the place, an enormous number of the best Menshevik workers were won over to the Communist side.

International Unity

20. In issuing the watchword of the united working-class front and permitting agreements of separate sections of the Communist International with parties and groups of the Second, Two-and-a-half and Amsterdam Internationals, the Communist International cannot naturally refuse to contract similar agreements on the international scale. The Executive Committee of the Communist International made a proposal to the Amsterdam International in connection with Famine Relief in Russia. It repeated the proposal in connection with the persecution of the workers under the White Terror in Spain and Jugo-Slavia. The Communist International is now making new proposals to the three other bodies in connection with the first results of the Washington Conference,

which has shown that the working class is threatened by a new imperialist slaughter. The leaders of the Second, Two-and-a-half and Amsterdam Internationals have shown, up to now, by their behaviour that when it comes to a question of practical action they in fact reject their own watchword of unity. In all cases it is the duty of the duty of the Communist International as a whole, and of its constituent sections in particular, to expose to the masses the hypocrisy of these reformist leaders who prefer unity with the bourgeoisie to unity with the revolutionary workers, and who remain, for instance, a part of the International Labour Office of the League of Nations, instead of organising the struggle against the imperialism of Washington, and so on. But the refusal of the leaders of the Second, Two-and-a-half and Amsterdam Internationals to accept one or other of our practical suggestions will not cause us to give up the policy indicated, which is deeply rooted among the masses, and which we must persistently and systematically develop. Whenever our adversaries refuse to support any proposition for a united stand, the masses must be made to realise this, and thus learn who is actually responsible for destroying the workers' united front. Should our adversaries agree to the proposals, it will be our duty to intensify the struggle gradually, and raise it to a higher level. In both instances every effort should be made to focus the attention of the masses on every incident in the struggle for the united front, and to interest them in the negotiations between the Communists and the other organisations.

Dangers of the United Front

21. In putting forward the plan indicated, the Executive Committee of the Communist International warns all fraternal parties of the dangers which, under certain conditions, may be involved. Not all Communist Parties are sufficiently strong and homogeneous, not all have completely broken with centrist and semi-centrist ideology. Cases are possible where the advantage would go to the other side; tendencies are possible which in fact would signify the submergence and dissolution of the Communist Parties and groups into a shapeless united block. In order to carry out the indicated policy successfully for the cause of Communism, it is necessary that the Communist Parties which adopt the policy should themselves be strong and firmly welded together, and that their leadership should be distinguished by clear-cut thinking.

The Communist Right Wing

22. Within the groups of which the Communist International is composed, we are justified in styling certain sections right and semi-centrists; there are undoubtedly tendencies which display ideas covering two directions: (a) Certain elements have in point of fact not yet completely broken with the ideology and methods of the Second International, they still cherish veneration for the former power of that organisation, and consciously or unconsciously seek means of agreeing with many of the Second International ideas, and consequently with bourgeois society. (b) Other elements in

combating a merely formal radical outlook, and the errors of a so-called Left tendency, etc., are aiming at giving more flexibility and scope to the tactics of the new Communist Parties, so as to assure them the possibility of more rapid access to the ranks of the working masses. The rapid pace of the development of Communist Parties has sometimes been conducive to the association of two apparently different tendencies in one camp, that is to say in one and the same group. By carrying out the methods already mentioned, which are devised to lend Communist agitation a foundation in the united ranks of the proletariat, all real reformist tendencies will be brought to light. The strict application of these tactics will greatly facilitate the revolutionary unity of the Communist Parties, in so far as the impatient Left Wing elements or sections will be taught by experience, and the Party will be freed from the dead weight of the reformists.

Unity with the Anarcho-Syndicalists

23. The "united working-class front" should be understood to include the unity of all workers imbued with the will to fight Capitalism, including those workers still belonging to the Syndicalist and Anarchist movements, etc. The number of such workers is still considerable in the Latin countries. In other countries they can also help in the revolutionary struggle. From the very beginning the Communist International has adopted a friendly attitude towards these working-class elements, who are gradually discarding their prejudices and inclining towards Communism. At the present moment Communists should devote the more attention to them, just as the workers' united front against Capitalism becomes a reality.

Meeting of the Communist International Executive

24. For a general definition of the work to be accomplished on the lines indicated the Executive of the Communist International has decided to summon in the near future an extended session of the Executive of the Communist International with representation of all parties in double proportion.

Reports to the Communist International

25. The Executive of the Communist International will diligently follow each practical step taken in the indicated sphere of action, and it asks all parties to communicate to it all details of attempts and achievements on the lines of this policy.

It is the duty of every Communist to see that a Communist Review is in the local library

Women and the Two November Revolutions

By CLARA ZETKIN

(A synopsis of the article by D. B. M.)

IN this article, by our veteran German comrade, she recalls the Russian proletarian Revolution of November, 1917, and the German Revolution of 1918, which inaugurated in that country the bourgeois Republic; and she then asks the question: "What have these two Revolutions done for the mass of Working Women?" Because in both Germany and Russia the Revolution was the great and sacred hope of these same women. By the Russian Revolution of 1917 (which was the outcome, and further development, of the previous March Revolution), all privileges of birth and of property were swept away. Work, alone; work by hand and brain—became the basis of all social and political rights. This was how the young Soviet State laid the sure foundation of full equality of opportunity for women, in the family, in the community, and in the State, for the full use and development of all the powers of women through productive social work in and for the community. Knowledge teaches us, and experience confirms every day our knowledge, that private ownership of the means of production lies at the root of the social and legal disabilities of women, as also of their personal subjection.

The woman in Soviet Russia begins her communal work at the age of 16, and ends it at 50; the normal working day for both sexes is eight hours, and Saturday is a half-holiday. All work is thrown open to women except that which might injure the potential or child-bearing mother. An equal wage is paid for equal work; and because certain forms of administrative work are lighter, and more suitable for women's strength, suitable women receive special training in this class of work. One finds, in consequence, in many industrial undertakings women managers and superintendents; also forewomen and instructors are chosen from among these specially trained women. Soviet Russia sets also a brilliant example to other States in its care of and provision for children and child-bearing women. Pregnant women are not allowed to undertake any work which might have a harmful effect on the unborn child. For eight weeks before, and eight weeks after, her confinement, the mother is freed from all necessity of work; the nursing mother receives extra rations, and her working day is of six hours only; while after three hours' work she must have half-an-hour's rest. In the four years that have elapsed since the November Revolution more than 2,000 organisations of various sorts have been established in different parts of the country by the People's Commissariat of the Ministry of Health, for the special care of nursing mothers and infants. The difficulty of obtaining materials, and suitable technical provisions, has hindered, but has not put a stop to the building and organisation of these institutions. Thousands of peasant and working women have received courses of practical

instruction as nurses, matrons, and housekeepers to prepare them as helpers in these homes for mothers and infants.

Till its sixteenth year, the child has a right to free maintenance and instruction by the State; from 16 to 18, the working-day is six hours. The kindergarten receives and cares for the infant from 3 to 7 years of age. In some schools the children are boarded, but in all they enjoy a hot midday meal. Since November, 1917, more than 80,000 schools have been built, in which no less than seven million children are taught and trained. To understand what this effort means, it must be stated that in Czarist Russia in 1911 there were only 55,000 schools with 3½ million scholars. During the four years of proletarian administration 16,500 women and men teachers have been trained for their special work in these new schools.

The majority of children are brought up in co-educational schools, and no school, no special teaching, or training is closed to girls. No less than 3,000 homes for war orphans have been opened; there are also special schools for scrofulous, tuberculous, and delicate children, besides holiday and summer colonies. Among the special efforts for freeing women from household drudgery should be mentioned the public kitchens and restaurants, the wash-houses and institutions for the repair of clothing; all these works of public utility help women to perform with greater ease their duties as mothers and as communal workers.

It is, of course, understood that in Soviet Russia the woman is a free member of the family, and equal with the man before the law. The paternal power over the girl, and the husband's power over the wife are not only legally dispensed with; they have also lost their economic and social meaning, because the State provides for all children, while all healthy normal women undertake their daily share of communal duty, and have the right to full maintenance. Marriage is a private contract between two citizens of equal status in the eyes of the law, and having equal duties and responsibilities. The formalities of marriage are of the simplest nature; and divorce is equally simple, and is unaccompanied by the sordid and often unclean publicity of capitalist countries. No difference is made in Soviet Russia in the treatment of children born in or out of marriage.

How different, how poor does the emancipation of women in Germany by their November Revolution appear, in contrast to the enormous change brought about in the all-round conditions of Russian women. It is, of course, well known that the Social Democratic changes of 1918 included the granting of the suffrage to women, and their right to election to all representative bodies. With high hopes, the women of Germany entered on their new duties and responsibilities, and with every determination to make just laws, which should improve and assure their position and that of their children. And with what cruel deception have these hopes during the last three years been dashed to the ground; for the democracy which caused the November upheaval in Germany was nothing more than a bourgeois democracy, which threw out, over and over again, all the measures for giving equal rights to women with men. It continues to heap scorn on the unmarried mother, and to place disabilities on the child born out of wedlock. The German women, who, during the war, undertook the greater

part of the work usually done by men, found that after the war, and in spite of the Revolution, and "the complete reconstruction of the world," these enfranchised "heroines who had been entreated to defend the soil of their country," found themselves turned out of their work, and without the means of earning a livelihood, while the old industrial struggle between men and women started afresh. The eight hours day, the most important industrial victory of the German November Revolution, remains, in consequence of entrenched capitalistic power, a dead letter, existing only on paper. The same applies to most of the regulations for the protection of women workers. Very little is done by the State for expectant and nursing mothers; in a word, the German November Revolution has in nowise ensured equality of opportunity for women with men; in fact, it has not done as much for women as has been done for them in countries of older democratic culture.

How is it that the German Revolution, in sharp contrast to the Russian one, did so little for the cause of women? The answer is that, as it betrayed the proletariat, so also it betrayed women. The Revolution could only have been proletarian and socialist if the Proletariat had seized political power, and, above all, had established its Dictatorship. This, with a double object in view. The old bourgeois Government and administrative apparatus had to be destroyed by the inauguration of Soviets or Workers' Councils. Private property in the means of life and capitalistic methods had to be abolished, and replaced by communal production. The Berlin Workers' and Soldiers' Councils did not want this complete Revolution; they shrank back alarmed at the thought of the "mass-rising," they wanted a middle-class, well-behaved, democratic, curled and scented, drawing-room Revolution. But such a Revolution was powerless to obtain a complete overthrow of the present-day social order, and the building in its place of a new order. The result is, therefore, that the power of the middle-class, both in industry and the State, is strengthened, while the captains of industry and the banking magnates are the masters and the rulers of the country. Intelligent women must by now realise that, under a capitalist Government the rights of a living human being are of no importance; what is of all importance is Property.

Both Revolutions called with urgent voice upon the women of the two countries to support them. The women of Soviet Russia have heard the voice, and they understand. With their last breath, their last drop of blood, they are prepared to defend and guard the Workers' and Peasants' Republic from hunger and cold; from the united counter-revolutionary action of the whole world. They know what is at stake, and why they should be grateful to their Revolution. The women of Germany and of other countries, who aspire to full freedom, must show their solidarity with Soviet Russia. The German November Revolution has failed to loosen women's heaviest bonds; their task must be to press forward on the hard and painful road traced out by the Russian Revolution. Forward to the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, through the power of Soviet organisation. Forward, the women of every land! Let us show that the effect of the two Revolutions has been to help us forward in our development and our growth!

Hidden Hands

Some Secret Influences behind the European War

By C. H. NORMAN

FOREWORD.

It is the avowed policy of the COMMUNIST REVIEW *to critically investigate every factor regarding the cause of the world war which began in* 1914. *Herewith we print an article, by Comrade C. H. Norman, which seeks to show the sinister part played by two powerful, reactionary, secret societies—the Russian Okhrana and the Grand Orient of France—in provoking the great war. We do not accept any responsibility for the theories advanced by the writer, but, believing that these are highly interesting, we have decided to bring them before our numerous readers. The main points advanced by Comrade Norman formed the basis of a lecture which he delivered, in* 1916, *to a group of anti-militarists stationed at the Kedington Settlement. The lecture was afterwards printed in pamphlet form, but was immediately confiscated, by the Government, before it could be publicly circulated. The Government, for some important reason, was nervously anxious to smother all references to the French secret society, because its warrant, to confiscate Comrade Norman's pamphlet, distinctly declared its intention to seize "all copies of the pamphlets and all books, notes, documents or memoranda connected with the pamphlets or concerning the Grand Orient of France." The suppression of a pamphlet by a capitalist State supplies the very best reason why it should be published in the* COMMUNIST REVIEW.

Considering that the substance of the following article was delivered in 1916, *it must be admitted that Comrade Norman made some shrewd and prophetic observations regarding the ultimate war aims of the Allies. Several of his points were verified by the publication of the Allied secret treaties, by the Bolsheviks, in* 1918 ; *by the terms advanced by France at Versailles, and also by her recent arrangement with the Angora Government of Turkey. These facts would seem to justify our author's claim that the capitalistic and imperialistic Political Committee of the Grand Orient is, indeed, the* INNER *Government of France.*

Editor of COMMUNIST REVIEW.

MOST Englishmen are acquainted with the rival theories concerning the terrible war which began in July, 1914, by the Austrian declaration of war upon Servia ; but it will be convenient, by way of introduction to the main theme of this address, once more to summarise them.

(1) There is the contention of the British Government that the people of Great Britain were compelled to join in the war in consequence of the obligations incurred to the Kingdom of Belgium by the Treaties of 1831 and 1839, under which the neutrality and integrity of that kingdom were guaranteed by the Great Powers.*

* See Newbold's article on Belgium in this issue of the COMMUNIST REVIEW.

(2) There is the wider view that the war arose from a conflict of policies during the last ten or twelve years, between the Triple Entente of Russia, Britain and France and the Austro-German Alliance of 1879. Those who maintain this attitude urge that the real reason for British intervention is to be found in the naval and military understandings entered into between British statesmen and representatives of the Russo-French Alliance, which compelled Sir Edward Grey to refuse to pledge British neutrality solely on the condition of Germany undertaking not to invade Belgium (consult Despatch 123 in the British White Paper).

(3) Another argument is founded upon the Socialist view of politics: that, though these are important considerations, the primary cause of the war is traceable to the commercial competition which had developed between the capitalists of the Entente and those of the Central Powers for the control of the trade markets of the world.

(4) The fourth theory is based on the admission that all these causes have been in operation, but have been reinforced by the conscious or unconscious desire of the ruling classes of Britain and Europe to engulf the democracies of Britain and Europe in a sea of blood, in which would be swamped all the liberties that have been won in the past hundred years. When one observes that the capitalist and reactionary classes have increased their wealth in all the warring countries, and that the leaders of the people have been imprisoned and persecuted, except those who have been bribed or terrorised into silent acquiescence, one cannot ignore the weight of this contention. In Great Britain, in Russia, in Germany, and in France, it was known that the Trade Union, the Revolutionary, the Socialist, and the Syndicalist Parties in the respective countries were contemplating a forward movement, in the autumn of 1914, of unparalleled magnitude.* A European War seemed the only means of checking that threatened resort to democratic hostilities. That device, unfortunately, has been quite successful. It is within my personal knowledge that certain great Liberal and Tory capitalists now in or behind the Cabinet of Mr. Lloyd George, were of opinion that the only way of outwitting the great Trade Union combination of Railwaymen, Transport Workers, and Miners was by plunging Great Britain into a European War. In the latter days of July, 1914, when Britain was being pushed into war by certain political influences, I was shewn the confidential instructions issued by Lord Northcliffe to his editorial staffs, in which his Lordship pointed out the one method of securing the imposition of conscription on the British people was through the fear of invasion inspired by a European War, in which Britain was a participant; and that it would only be by the medium of conscription that the power of the Trade Union movement could be destroyed. This cynical analysis of the position was communicated to Mr. W. A. Appleton, the Secretary of the General Federation of Trade Unions, on August 4th, 1914, to be laid before the Labour Party and Trade Unions, which had been summoned to consider the attitude to be adopted by the Labour movement towards the war. Mr. Arthur

*An International Socialist Congress was organised to take place in August, 1914.

Henderson was chairman on that occasion, but the letter was never read.

However, my purpose in this précis is to lay before my countrymen some of the criminal ramifications of the secret influences behind the war, as distinguished from the ordinary reasons attributed by the disputants on the various sides, when explaining the present calamitous state of Europe.

I.

The State Within the State

THE modern politician pretends that Europe is free from the activities of secret societies; but certain matters which have come under my personal notice should dissipate that delusion from the minds of my readers. The force which has organised the elements which exploded into a European War is the French Freemason Society known as the Grand Orient of France, acting in conjunction with the Russian Okhrana, which was the secret influence behind the Russian throne.

What is the Grand Orient of France? It is a Freemason Society whose tenets are Rationalism and Republicanism combined with the promotion of the interests of the French capitalist class. Hardly a French Cabinet has existed that has not been nominated by the Political Council of this Society in the last 20 years. M. Delcassé, M. Poincaré, M. Briand, and M. Millerand, the four powerful Frenchmen responsible for agreeing to the Russian mobilisation in support of Servia, are all members of this organisation. M. Miliukoff, the pro-Ally leader of the Russian Liberal Imperialists, was the most powerful Russian member of the Grand Orient. M. Venizelos, the so-called Greek Revolutionist, and Signor Bissolatti, the chief pro-war Italian Socialist,* are also deeply involved by their membership. M. Vandervelde, the Belgian "Socialist," is also a member and a Grand Master. The Grand Orient wields an enormous power in the Republican Party of Italy, but the majority of Italian Socialists have declined to associate themselves with its aims. Indeed, membership involves expulsion from the official Italian Socialist Party. It was the Grand Orient which planned and executed the recent revolution by which Portugal became a Republic. It was the Grand Orient which stage-managed the demonstrations which broke out throughout Europe and South America; when Senor Ferrer, the famous Spanish Rationalist, was the victim of a judicial murder in Spain. The Grand Orient extends its political and financial manipulations throughout France, Italy, Portugal, and South America, and its presence has manifested itself in the bourgeois revolutionary movements in Poland, in certain Provinces of Austria, and in the Balkan States. M. Jaures was a determined opponent of the Grand Orient. Unable to cajole or bribe him into silence, M. Raoul Villain, the so-called

*On October 31st, 1917, Signor Ballori, the head of the Italian section of the Grand Orient, was assassinated in Rome. Beyond stating that the crime "is supposed to have a political motive," no further information has been allowed by the Censor to reach the British public (see *Daily Telegraph*, Nov. 1st, 1917).

"mad" enthusiast of the Camelots du Roi, was enlisted with a revolver; but, strange to relate, the French Government has not yet dared to place this "madman" on his trial. [He was tried in 1919 and acquitted.]

That the Grand Orient is the *imperium in imperio* in France may be illustrated by several circumstances. What would an Englishman think of a country in which the Ministry of War actually had a department within its portals controlled by a secret society? Such is the case in France. Before me lies this document: "A Demand for Information. Republique Francais: Ministry of War. Cabinet of the Ministère. Dear Brother Vadecard, Herewith I send you a long list of names of infantry officers who all figure on the list for promotion, and on whom it is of the utmost importance that we should determine as soon as possible, Affectionately yours, Mollin." Here are two samples of the reports asked for: "Colonel Lanzezac: 19th Foot at Courbevoie. A Creole, dangerous man, intemperate in his language, formerly a Professor of History at the Ecole Superieure de Guerre, where he got bad marks. Says he is a Republican, but is certainly not so in the real meaning of the word. He is not to be trusted." It must be remarked that the report does not concern the military qualifications of those reported upon, but limits its information to their political or religious opinions. None were too high in position for this kind of moral assassination: "General Silvestre: Commanding the 12th Infantry Brigade. At present head of the French Mission in Manchuria; has only lately come to the 12th from the Elysée, where he was orderly officer to the President. A close character, with a stereotyped half-smile upon his lips, and careful not to let people know what he thinks; most probably of not very advanced ideas. He has as his orderly Captain D'Acher de Montgascon, the purest product of the Jesuit Schools, is possessed by fears of Freemasonry; artful, hypocritical, capable of any treason, ought to be excluded from the Paris garrison. Would then resign and the Army would be well rid of him." It was to a country whose Army was honeycombed by this sort of venomous intrigue that the British Cabinet committed the honour of Great Britain! The Grand Orient is the ruling power in the French Army, in the French Chamber, and in the French Senate. Where a member of the Grand Orient is court-martialled and convicted, even when the conviction has been affirmed by the War Council, approved by the Minister of War and the President, the Army Committee of the Grand Orient on occasions has intervened, examined the record of the court-martial, expressed its dissent from the findings, and the prisoner has been released and restored to all his honours! General Picquart, as Minister of War, endeavoured to make a stand against this ruinous undermining of the authority of the Government, but he failed; since when no Minister of War has attempted to resist the commands of the Grand Orient.

In the French Chamber and Senate, whatever combination of parties there may be, the emissaries of the Grand Orient, under the guise of Republicans, Nationalists, Radicals, Radical-Socialists, or Socialists, maintain a permanent majority. No Cabinet can live in

France that has not the support of the Grand Orient, or its sympathetic approval. Let me explain how this formidable Association has corrupted the fountain of justice: this is an extract from the evidence of M. Tery in an action, in 1904, by M. Berenger, the editor of *L'Action*, against the ex-Abbe Charbonnel, editor of the *Raison*, as recorded in *The Gaulois*: "I am ready to speak the truth, but I cannot take an oath to speak the *whole truth*. The case which you are now trying here has already been before another tribunal, that of the Grand Orient. One of the principal persons concerned has by it been declared innocent; and orders have accordingly been issued to every Freemason to proclaim him such. Whatever, therefore, I might think or know, unless this person who is here (referring to M. Laffere, the President of the Grand Orient) relieves me from my Masonic oath, I am bound to obey this order, and cannot therefore swear to tell the *whole* truth." The witness added: "You must know that those who have sworn to the Masonic oath are not free to tell the truth." A declaration of this character stands best without comment. Such is the secret government of France! a camarilla of rogues and international incendiaries.

The strange incidents of modern French history, such as L'Affaire Dreyfus, the circumstances connected with the death of President Faure, the purloining of the private papers of M. Waldeck-Rousseau, the manœuvres of the Union des Mines, the defalcations of the commissaires set up under the Associations Bill to liquidate the properties of the French religious associations, the singular case of the Humbert safe, the murders for which Madame Steinheil was tried and acquitted, and the *dossier* in the Calmette-Caillaux affair, can only really be understood by a recognition of the hand of the Grand Orient.*

II.

1906 and 1914

HOWEVER, it is necessary to retrace one's steps a moment to somewhere about the year 1906, when I was invited to attend a meeting of Englishmen for the purpose of discussing a proposal to form an English Lodge of the Grand Orient in London. The *personnel* of that meeting need not be further described than by stating that it consisted largely of men who have developed into Jingo Labour-Socialists, and have formed an organisation called the British Workers' National League for the purpose of opposing the anti-war revolutionary movement. It is a remarkable fact that the Socialists in Belgium, France, Italy, Serbia, Portugal, and Russia who refused to support the war policy of their Governments were those who would not associate themselves with the Grand Orient.

*Consult *Religious Persecution in France*, published by Kegan Paul, London.

The amazing series of political scandals now proceeding in France, including the Bolo affaire; the death of M. Vigo (alias Almereyda), the Editor of the *Bonnet Rouge:* the execution of the beautiful Javanese dancer as an "alleged spy"; the taking of the veil by Madamoiselle Lavallier, etc., etc., are all of a piece of the atmosphere created by the Grand Orient camarilla.

At the meeting under description, it was agreed that a request should be put forward to the headquarters of the Grand Orient for certain privileges for those who were engaged in constituting the first British Lodge of the Grand Orient, as it was felt that the importance of this initiation warranted a grant to the Lodge of a somewhat artificial seniority. This document was drafted by the present writer and duly despatched. The principles on which the Lodge was to be formed were similar to those of the parent body. It was to be rationalistic and republican ; it was also to be engaged in propaganda on behalf of the Entente Cordiale, which was then being cemented through the efforts of King Edward VII. (who was a Freemason), M. Loubet, Sir Edward Grey, and M. Delcassé. With this apparently innocent object, I then found myself in sympathy; but, nevertheless, I decided to discover what the policy of the Grand Orient was, with a view of ascertaining whether it was all that its benevolent programme pretended. To my astonishment, I discovered that the Grand Orient was about to embark upon a vast political scheme (probably it was well under weigh then in its initiatory stages) in alliance with the Russian Okhrana, which could only be brought to fruition by a terrible European War. Great Britain was to be entangled into an understanding with Russia and France, which would commit the honour of Britain without defining her obligations, and without imposing any reciprocal burdens upon Russia and France. When this was done, war was to be provoked by some device familiar to conspirators of a disreputable calibre. The aim of the war was that France should obtain the Rhine Provinces, Alsace-Lorraine, Morocco, and Asia Minor, whose wealth was to be exploited by the French capitalists in the Councils of the Grand Orient. Russia was to seize the Galician Provinces of Austria, the Russian Court hoping to pocket the wealth flowing from the oil-fields of Galicia as a compensation for the loss of the Yalu timber forests in Manchuria, due to the failure of the Russo-Japanese War ; also, the planting of the Russian flag over Saint Sophia in Constantinople, with consequent free egress through the Dardanelles, was coupled with a Slav dominance in the Balkan Peninsula. Such was the skilful plan of campaign into which the British Foreign Office, by playing upon its insensate fear of Germany, was to be entangled by the Russo-French diplomats. Though the Lodge of the Grand Orient was eventually set up in London, after spending a little more time in enquiring into the antecedents of those managing the matter on this side as well as in Paris, I withdrew from the whole scheme, having satisfied myself of the bad faith of the professions of those engaged in this conspiracy. Since then, I have been an interested and appalled observer of the moves and counter-moves in the secret places of European diplomacy and the underworld of European politics, which have culminated in the bloodiest and cruellest war of history.

The time has now come when there can be pieced together certain scraps of chicanery which indicate the falsity of the pretexts on the basis of which millions of honest men have immolated themselves. The first move in the game was in Morocco, when the Union des Mines began its famous conflict for concessions with the Mannesman Corporation, which was a German company. The Union des

Mines was owned chiefly by members of the Grand Orient ; but it counted amongst its shareholders Mr. Bonar Law, M.P., and Mr. Walter Harris, the Tangier correspondent of *The Times*. These two gentlemen had a definite and substantial holding in a company whose operations were of a predatory character, thus placing themselves in a position in which their public duty might conflict with their private interests. *Le Matin*, which is the unofficial organ of the Grand Orient, pressed on the willing attention of the French Government the fortunes of this Corporation with a hardly disinterested pertinacity. The close relationships which have existed for some years between Lord Northcliffe, as owner of the *Daily Mail* and controller of *The Times* and the proprietors of *Le Matin* developed to an amazing degree during the Moroccan crisis of 1911, when the British foreign policy took a turn which was more French than that even of M. Delcasse. The Paris edition of the *Daily Mail* was an organ representing the inside government of France, in that it was run, and some say financed, by the Grand Orient. Englishmen should reflect on the astonishing ease with which the whole of the young manhood of Great Britain and the wealth of the Empire were subordinated to the execution of the scheming of the Grand Orient and its Russian Ally, the Russian Okhrana, without the slightest reciprocal obligations by France and Russia towards the British people. Let us test the mysterious nature of this concession to France by a strategic illustration. Britain is a State whose main defence rests on the sea, and whose contributions to the Allied cause have been guns and munitions to an undreamt-of magnitude. The pressure of her Allies, aided by that of malign conspirators in Britain, imposed conscription on the British people, which could only have been justifiable on the hypothesis that sea power was deficient as an adequate defence. Yet this inadequacy involved that the British Isles might be liable to invasion, in which case the British armies on foreign soil could not only not defend British women and children from the invaders, but would have their own safety jeopardised by the cutting off of the flow of food and munitions by which they alone could be kept in a state of resisting power. How came this amazing strategic contradiction to be assented to by the naval and military advisers of the Crown? If the naval defences were insufficient, how came the military advisers to consent to the transportation of vast forces to foreign lands? If the naval defences were sufficient, how was it that the British Government imposed conscription for the defence of a foreign State? Again, one must repeat, what is the clue to this enigma, on the solution of which must depend the judgment whether the lives of hundreds of thousands of gallant men have been wantonly cast away or not by the statesmen of Britain?

Another move in the preparation of the crime, the results of which are now being witnessed by a horrified world, was the financing of the Balkan States by the Credit Lyonnais and the Banque de Paris et Pays Bas (in which institutions the Grand Orient has the whispering voice that counsels evil) in their war against the Turkish Empire. One motive of that war was the weakening of the Turk as an Ally in the vast conflict which was being prepared. It was successful to a point, though the rank and file of French

investors were not well repaid for the confidence in these two banking houses, which benefited by the commissions earned on the loans and contracts. It is a noteworthy consideration that the contracts for loans raised in the larger European States for the warlike purposes of their smaller neighbours contains a clause stipulating that the money should be expended to the extent of 60 per cent. at least in the lending country.

III.

Preparing the Plot

WE must next turn to another page of this appalling story of diplomatic mendacity and financial roguery, disguised on both sides under the most high-falutin' appeals to rigteousness, justice, and the rights of nations. The piratical seizure of Bosnia by Austria-Hungary, in 1908, created much uneasiness in Russia and Servia, leading to a Pan-Serb and Pan-Slav conspiracy against the Austrian Government in Bosnia. The religious element is one more complicating factor in this network of intrigue, as the duel between the Greek Orthodox Church of the Russo-Slav communities and the Roman Catholic Church in the Near East entered upon a new phase after the Bosnian annexation. In France, the Grand Orient had proved, during the period 1902-1908, too much for the Roman Catholic Church, which had been seriously injured by the results of the Associations Bill for suppressing Catholic communities. Moreover, the defeat of the reactionary parties in the Dreyfus case, in their attempt to suborn the French Army, had weakened the political influence of Catholicism in France. The Archduke Francis Ferdinand and his wife, who were murdered at Serajevo, were both ardent Catholics ; and the Archduke was long suspected of a more than close alliance with the Society of Jesus—which had revived its political activities in Europe in the last few years. The determination of the Pan-Slav movement, under the encouragement of Rasputin, the extraordinary monkish figure at the Russian Court, who was a blind and arrogant disciple of the Greek Church, to re-establish an Eastern Pope at Constantinople as a balance to the Western Pope of the Romish Church at Rome, brought the Roman Catholic Church on to the side of the Austrian Archduke in his endeavours to check the undermining process of the Orthodox Church in Bosnia, which had been working on the Pan-Slav and Pan-Servian sentiment with alarming efficacy from the Austrian point of view. Herein is to be found the explanation of the partiality of the Pope and the College of Cardinals for the Germanic powers, and its coldness towards the protestations of the Allied powers.

The concluding act of the drama was at hand. The Governments of Russia and France, Germany and Austria, with Britain hesitating somewhat at a complete subordination to these Continental manœuvres, had been manufacturing that public opinion and that atmosphere, charged with electricity, which was the essential preliminary to that gigantic struggle then being contemplated by powerful sections in *all* countries. But the Russian and French Governments were the Governments which launched out first into the

commission of overt acts against a foreign and friendly state. In London, in March, 1914, *three months before the murder of the Archduke*, there was published a pamphlet, entitled "The Russian Plot to Seize Galicia." The author, V. Stepankowsky, thus describes himself and the pamphlet in the introduction: "Signs of growing Russian activity aiming at the undermining of Austria-Hungarian rule in the western parts of the Ruthenian territory are noticeable everywhere. . . . As one who has resided long in England, he is prompted to attempt to arouse the attention of Englishmen to an affair which it is endeavoured to conceal from them studiously; and, although Orthodox, and a Russian subject, he does not shrink from exposing this piece of Russian policy." The following passages are quoted from pages 22 and 23:—"Russian war preparations on an unusually large scale are reported by the Press throughout the world. It must be, however, borne in mind that since 1913 the strictest censorship of news pertaining to military matters is enforced in Russia, and that only fragments of information are allowed to find their way into the Press. Certain facts, however, could not be concealed, and it is generally known now that Russian Nationalism has embarked upon an extensive military programme to be concluded in August, 1917. The realisation of this programme, *made possible through the financial aid of France*, is expected to enable Russia to carry a successful offensive into the territory of her western neighbours. Now, there is little doubt which of the three western neighbours of Russia is specially aimed at. Although Russian hostility towards the Swedes is incontestable, it is not they, nor the Germans, that are the main object of the military preparations. The disposition of the troops, and the direction of the new lines of railways feverishly constructed, make it an open secret that Russia contemplates an attack upon the Empire of the Hapsburgs. Even while we are writing these lines, an increase of 30 per cent. on the military budget is voted by the Duma, and a rumour is abroad that a test mobilisation has been decided upon in the south-western part of the Empire close to the Austrian frontier, at the cost of £10,500,000. Before we are much older we shall probably see one of these 'test mobilisations' turn into a real danger to European peace." Alas! that foreboding turned out to be only too true, as it was the Russian mobilisation in reply to the Austrian mobilisation that provoked the German ultimatum (plus the forged telegram which pretended that the German Governor of Konigsberg had informed the Kaiser that the Russian troops had crossed the German frontier, a forgery perpetrated by the agent of the Grand Orient at Warsaw), which was the direct forerunner of hostilities upon a European as distinct from a local scale. M. Stepankowsky does not seem to have been aware of the specific terms of the Austro-German Treaty of 1879, Article 1 of which bound either Austria or Germany, whatever the circumstances, to assist each other in the event of Russian hostility. The published terms of this treaty were so plain that the Russian Government must have known that an onslaught upon Austria would bring Germany to the assistance of Austria; with the result that Britain would be hurled into the arena as a combatant abetting the ambitions of the

Russo-French Alliance. How significant, in the light of M. Stepankowsky's pamphlet, the special value of which is that it was published in London in the March *before* the outbreak of war, are the figures of the military expenditure of the Teutonic Powers and the Franco-Russian Combination in the quinquennial periods of 1905-1909 and 1910-1914. In the first period, the Teutonic powers expended £301,000,000 against the Franco-Russian total of £366,000,000 ; in the second period the Teutonic Powers expended £380,000,000 against the Franco-Russian total of £476,000,000 ; an excess expenditure of the Franco-Russian combination over that of the Teutonic Powers of £159,000,000. Britain's expenditure is excluded from these totals.

IV.

Servia

THE explosion was still delayed, but Dr. Dillon, in a despatch from St. Petersburg to the *Daily Telegraph*, dated 10th March, 1913, demonstrated how near the gunpowder kegs had been to blowing up during the Balkan War: "Russia, it is stated, will be satisfied if before the advent of the next tercentenary her frontiers rest on the Nieman Carpathians, and her egress from the Black Sea is freed from all external control. The last word of Russia in the European East is the emancipation of the Black Sea, and it is bitterly regretted by the Nationalists that the most favourable opportunity presented by the Balkan War for the realisation of this necessity has been completely missed by timid Russian diplomacy." The pressure of social forces in Russia, which was on the verge of a revolutionary outbreak in 1914, combined with the unrest in France, compelled the kindling of sparks by which one of the gunpowder kegs would explode and ignite the others.

The Russian Okhrana and the Grand Orient have the common feature of being absolutely unscrupulous in the attainment of their ends. Assassination, bribery, cajolery, and blackmail were the pleasant weapons of those ruling these societies. The Archduke was a thorn in their side, and his removal would certainly embitter the Austrian Emperor and the German Kaiser, who regarded the Archduke as his closest friend. Removals and executions of this nature have been fairly common in recent times in Russia and France ; but it was rather a novelty to extend the ambit of these conspiracies into the territory of a foreign ruler. However, the Servians were the tools who could be employed without suspicion being attracted to those who were behind the conspirators. Yet a series of unconnected episodes do present a strong circumstantial case against the Grand Orient and the Russian Okhrana in this regard. On the morning of Sunday, 29th June, 1914, I was met in the Strand by Mr. X, the London agent of the Grand Orient, at about twelve o'clock, and was asked if any news had reached the tape machine of the National Liberal Club (where Mr. X knew I was a resident) from Serajevo in Bosnia. I replied that I had not noticed anything special, at which my questioner looked extremely chagrined. I enquired whether anything special had been expected, to which he replied that perhaps the attempt had been postponed. But the

censorship in Vienna had held up the news which was received in London in the afternoon via Constantinople, Athens, and Paris. The judicial inquiry also established that the event was timed for nine o'clock, but that one was a failure ; yet the news, allowing for the difference between London and Serajevo time, might have arrived in London about eleven o'clock. It may be recalled that the London Journal, *John Bull*, printed some fierce criticisms of Servia in the weeks between the assassination and the outbreak of war. In one of those articles, which was described on the poster as " To Hell with Servia," there was quoted a document, purporting to be on Servian Legation paper, in which a monetary bargain was set out, on the terms of which Prinsep and the other accomplices were to be rewarded. The odd thing about the document was that the original was in Spanish and was translated into English ; the language used by the Grand Orient in its communications to its agents in the Balkan Peninsula is Spanish ! I enquired into the authenticity of the article, and was assured that the document was not a faked production in order to secure a sensational advertisement. The English Lodge of the Grand Orient was started after I had withdrawn from any connection with the projected formation of a Lodge ; and has busied itself in propagating the policy of the Entente Cordiale, which has had such disastrous consequences for the British people.

V.

The Terrorists

THE death of Baron von Hartwig, the head of the Russian diplomatic machinery in the Balkans, is another odious episode in this tangled skein. Baron von Hartwig was found with his throat cut in the Russian Legation at Sofia. It was officially declared that the Baron died of heart disease, though the testimony of witnesses showed that he died of a hacked throat. The Baron, in addition to being the head of the Russian diplomatic machinery in the Balkans, was sympathetic to the revolutionary movement in Russia. On learning of the murder of the Archduke and Archduchess, he resigned his post, and was returning to Russia, with the intention of reporting the truth of the state of affairs in the Balkans, so that the Terrorist Committee could frustrate the schemes which were intended to plunge Europe into war. He failed in this design, as he was suspected by the Government, and so died of "heart disease" ! The true story of this man's end, coupled with the trial of those who planned it, would contribute much towards the unravelling of the conspiracy which produced the war which has been devastating Europe since 1914 ; and the judgment of men upon the actors in this tragedy might be more valuable to the progress of humanity than to defer it for the vengeance of heaven.

The Grand Orient has many agencies at work in its variants of conspiracy. Legitimate means are first tried to influence men to carry out its behests. Their vanity is flattered ; place and power are promised freely in return for adhesion to its devious plans. The second method is to discover a weak spot in a recalcitrant politician's life, and threaten him with exposure, disgrace, and ruin.

The last stage is terrorising the victim or murdering him, should his opposition not be abandoned. It was a peculiar feature of the British Cabinet (which was so divided on the question of British intervention that a critical vote was decided by a majority of one) that the powerful influence of Mr. Lloyd George had been secured since 1911 to support the war programme. Mr. Lloyd George's conversion coincided with his difficulties in the Marconi Affair, which was brought into prominence by the publication in *Le Matin* of certain allegations. The kinship of *Le Matin* to the Grand Orient has already been commented upon. No proper explanation has ever been tendered of the speculations in the British Marconi Co.'s shares, as the inquiry went off on the smaller issue, so far as amount was concerned, of the American Marconi Co., leaving the attentive mind to wonder how City clerks living in suburban villas were able to carry through transactions in blocks of 10,000, 20,000, or 50,000 shares in the British Marconi Co. Some abler hand than mine may be able, with fuller information, to expose the true inwardness of the various scandals in Europe which preceded the war. Though seemingly unconnected with each other, the dispute between Count Aehrenthal and M. Isvolsky over the payment of certain moneys, the Marconi scandals, the secret negotiations between the Permanent Secretariat of the British Foreign Office, the Quai d'Orsay and the Grand Orient, the conducting of the foreign policy of *The Times* on instructions of the Quai d'Orsay and St. Petersburg, with the financing of the Russian Supplement of *The Times* by the Tzar's Government, the assassination of M. Jean Jaurés and the Baron von Hartwig, concluding with the murder of Rasputin by some Russian aristocrats, the attempt on the life of M. Miliukoff, the French political scandals, and the murder of Signor Ballori, head of the Italian section of the Grand Orient, are all pieces of a puzzle which should be made whole one day.

VI.

Turkey in the Toils

ONE cannot omit in this story the narration of the astonishing incidents which forced Turkey into the vortex of the European War. In May, 1914, at a Secret Session of the Russian Duma, M. Sazonoff, then the Russian Foreign Minister, threw out hints that the fulfilment of the aspiration of Russian ambitions in the Near East was at hand. Certain references were circulated in the Russian Press to the change of attitude of the British Foreign Office on the question of the Dardanelles. Sir George Buchanan, the British Ambassador at Petrograd, a sinister personality who is as much responsible as the late German Ambassador at Vienna for the failure of the negotiations preceding the outbreak of war, discussed the future of Constantinople in a most unguarded way. The despatches in the American Press in April, May, and June, 1914, were somewhat more instructive on this point than the diplomatic reticence in the foreign correspondence of *The Times*, the *Daily Telegraph*, the *Manchester Guardian*, the *Newcastle Chronicle*, and the *Daily News*. In the autumn of 1916, M. Trepov, the

Russian Premier, however, informed the Duma that the Allied Powers had attached their signature in 1915 to an agreement "which established in most definite fashion the right of Russia to the Straits and to Constantinople," the Russian Premier adding that this had always been the chief justification for the embarkation of Russia on the hazard of war. What did that mean? Have the British people fully grasped the implications of these disconnected but inter-linked pronouncements of the Russian statesmen from May, 1914, to the autumn of 1916? It is one's duty to state the deduction in unmistakable English: It is, that Turkey had to be forced into the war as an *enemy* of the Franco-British combination, otherwise the Russian partner could not be regarded as a certain ally? How was this managed? The incident of the seizure of the Turkish battleships and the hectoring language of the British Ambassador at Constantinople, now assume their true perspective. Two Turkish battleships had been completed on the outbreak of war in July, 1914, and were merely awaiting manning by British crews, who would instruct the Turkish purchasers in the mysteries of modern naval mechanism. The cost of these two vessels had been met by a subscription throughout the Turkish Empire, to which notable and peasant had cheerfully contributed their thousands of piastres or their solitary piastre, because the close of the second Balkan War, while relieving the Turkish people from any fear of a renewed land attack by the Christian States of Bulgaria, Servia, Roumania, or Greece, had left the Turkish naval forces in a very weak condition as compared with the Greek fleet. The Turkish Minister in London, aware of the threatening outlook in Europe, had on several occasions pressed the British contractors for prompt delivery. The contractors (in view of the decision of the House of Lords in the Spanish gunboat case, by which the Spanish Government had been awarded damages against certain Scottish contractors) had assured the Turkish Minister that delivery would be in accordance with the contract. The Turkish Minister had also approached the British Government on the subject, and had been informed that there was no intention of appropriating the ships. Such were the allegations set forth in the Turkish Press and Parliament *after* the seizure of these two vessels on the instructions of Mr. Winston Churchill, but *before* Turkey had joined in the war as a belligerent. In the last week preceding the declaration of war on Germany, information reached me pointing to a determination of the British Admiralty to execute a *coup* by which these vessels would be added to the British Navy. Thereupon, I sent a written protest against such action to the Prime Minister and Sir E. Grey, reminding them of the terrible effect such a step would have in Turkey, also arguing that the best method of preserving good relations with the Turkish Empire was to establish British good faith by despatching the vessels manned by British sailors to the Dardanelles, where they would serve the two-fold purpose of demonstrating that Britain kept faith, and preventing any effort to use the Dardanelles as a hiding-place for any stray German cruisers. That warning was not heeded. The ships were not only seized, but the considerable sums which had been remitted on their account were not returned

to the Turkish Government. The acute gentlemen controlling the British Foreign Office knew that it was part of the scheme of the Allied Powers to decide the destiny of Constantinople, which is the pivot of the Eastern Question ; hence, the scandalous transaction was permitted. The " Goeben " and " Breslau," as was known to the British Government at the time, were at large in the Mediterranean. These ships were somehow fortunate enough to elude the great French and British naval forces in the Mediterranean taking refuge in the Dardanelles, with the result that Russian warships in the Black Sea were able, with some show of reason, to commit acts of provocation which excused the Russian ultimatum to Turkey. But a similar suasion to that exercised by the German commanders could have been exercised by the British commanders of the vessels under contract, had it been desired to keep Turkey as a neutral. No further observations by way of criticism need be offered on this sensational *débâcle* beyond the remark that the military advantage obtained by the Germanic Powers through the adhesion of Turkey probably turned the balance of military power in their favour (until the intervention of the United States).

Well ! such is the tale that has had to be told. The ruling and middle classes (except the professional classes) throughout Europe have greatly strengthened their economic power in the course of the war. The annual income of the British people was computed in Sir L. Chiozza Money's book, "Riches and Poverty," at £1,800,000,000 which he divided thus:—£600,000,000 to the working class, £600,000,000 to the professional and management classes, and £600,000,000 to the receivers of rent, interest, and profits, once described as " the receivers of stolen goods." Should the war end in March, 1917, the interest and sinking fund payable in respect of the War Loans represent at least £250,000,000*; so that the receivers of interest have increased their annual income from the national resources alone by five-twelfths; which leaves out of consideration the vast increment accruing to the share-holding class from the profits due to the manufacture of munitions, the rise in freights, and in the cost of all the basic commodities.

Thus it will be seen how multifarious have been the influences at work which have cast Europe into the furnace of war, and how diverse are the interests at work to continue the slaughter of mankind. Reading through the speeches of responsible British statesmen and religious leaders since the war began, it is impossible to find any sentiment adumbrated other than appeals to passion, hatred, and all that is worst in men. We have been invited to gloat over the death roll of our enemies; but military reasons are cited as an excuse for depriving us of the knowledge of the totals of British casualties. It is no consolation to me for the loss of valued friends to be told that a thousand Germans or Turks have been killed or maimed. The old men of Britain may indulge in the vicarious sacrifice of sending their sons to an awful death; but it is a peculiar symptom of paternal affection. About the women of Europe and England I do not propose to say anything, as the

* In fact, the war continued till the interest on the War Debt reached £375,000,000.

punishment which will fall upon them after the war for forgetting their duties as the guardians of the lives they bring into the world will be heavy enough. Judging the course of events as an onlooker, who has paid some attention to the issues involved, I am of opinion that not the silghtest benefit of any sort or kind will accrue to mankind as a result of the European War of 1914.

The chances of securing a peace—there is no such thing as a "just, righteous, or lasting peace"—have been many since July, 1914; yet the obstinacy and venom of the European statesman and Press have interfered in favour of war. But the time has now come to submit to the judgment of the warring and neutral world the conduct of some of the actors in this world-drama, so that the peoples may measure the sort of influences at work and estimate the *morale* of the men to whom they have entrusted their destinies. The rhetoric of statesmen anxious to conceal their crimes, of financiers eager to fill their pockets, or rulers hungry to suppress the manifestations of democracy, have alone been heard in the last 2½ years. Those who have sought to strike a discordant note and have struggled to minimise the calamity which has befallen Europe have been oppressed and persecuted in every country. No more striking proof of the community of interest between the German ruling class, the French bourgeoisie, and the British oligarchy, could be required than the measures taken in Germany, France and Britain during the war. Germany and France had conscription, Britain followed suit. Germany instituted spy hunts, Britain and France followed suit. Britain suspended the Habeas Corpus Act, Germany copied with the system of "preventive arrest," while the French military courts overrode every civic right. In truth, the war has disclosed the international character of the tyrannic governments whose foulness provoked the war. The case for the United States of Europe has been established, as there is no difference at the present moment in the fact of government in all the belligerent countries. Tyranny and militarism are now rampant.

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The Moplah Rising*

By ABANI MUKHERJI
(A Member of the Communist Party of India)

FOREWORD.

[*The Moplah rebellion of August and September last, and the more recent incident of the suffocation of a truck load of Moplah prisoners in a travelling "Black Hole of Calcutta," will be fresh in the memory of readers of the* REVIEW. *Comrade Mukherji's account of the troubles on the Malabar coast brings three points into relief: (1) That the Moplah risings have always been primarily manifestations of the class war; (2) that the attempts (usually well meant) of the British authorities to improve the lot of the poor peasants have invariably resulted under capitalism in strengthening the position of the native capitalist class; (3) that the element of religious fanaticism which has always attended Moplah outbreaks, is receding into the background, and that a solidarity of Mohammedan and Hindu oppressed against their oppressors (Hindu or Mohammedan, European or Asiatic) is coming to the front. This last is what Lord Northcliffe, revisiting India, finds so alarming.*

One word more of introduction. It is interesting to read an honest British official's view of these matters. In 1881 *Mr. William Logan was appointed to enquire into the Moplah question. In his great work on Malabar, Logan gave a history of the Moplah risings prior to that date, and an account of his mission of enquiry. He sums up the matter as follows ("Malabar," Vol.* 1, *p.* 588, *published* 1887*): "Mr. Logan finally formed the opinion that the Moplah outrages were designed to counteract the overwhelming influence, when backed by the British courts, of the Jenmis* [*landlords*] *in the exercise of their novel powers of ouster* [*eviction*] *and of rent-raising conferred upon them." The phrase when "backed by the British courts" is peculiarly significant!*—E. & C. P.]

ON August, 19th, 1921, a rising began in Malabar, the south-western province of the Madras presidency. According to current reports, numbers of Moplah peasants, incited by the nationalists of the Khilafat movement, had taken up arms against the Government as by law established. Their aim was said to be the overthrow of British rule in India.

It was also asserted that the primary aim of these fanatical Mohammedans was to re-establish the independence of Turkey on its old footing. After the first skirmish, we were informed, the aims of the Khilafat movement had been forgotten, and the mullahs, the bigoted leaders, had directed the attack of the Mohammedan rank and file against their peaceful Hindu neighbours, who were being offered the alternative, "Death or Islam." The result had been the forcible conversion to Mohammedanism of the members of some

*Translated from *Die Internationale*, Dec. 15, 1921, by Eden and Cedar Paul.

eighty Hindu families, and the slaughter of a few dozen more who had preferred death to disgrace and the loss of their religion.

In addition, we were told that the Moplah masses were well armed, not only with staves and with war-knives and swords improvised out of saws in the village smithies, but also with fire-arms secured by raids on the police stations and upon the arsenal of the military depôt of Malupuram, in the centre of the Moplah territory. These facts were reported in order to show that the rising had been carefully planned by the leaders of the Khilafat movement, who for months past had been preaching a boycott of the British throughout the country.

The details of these reports are historically correct, but the fallacious inference is deliberately supplied by the Government, whose interest it is to mislead the population. The main object of the Government in spreading this false notion of the causes of the rising is to break up the newly-acquired unity in the fighting forces of the inhabitants of India. And the Government policy was shrewd, for all the nationalist papers, and especially those published by Hindus, were agreed in condemning the Moplahs, and in demanding that the Government should take such measures as would effectively prevent the recurrence of similar disasters.

Being personally acquainted with the Moplah country and the Moplah people, I was amazed to find that even *Pravda* had allowed itself to be fooled by these Governmental lies. Data collected from all the available periodicals, in conjunction with the current reports received during recent months from the area affected by the present rising, show clearly that it was, in the first instance, a peasant revolt directed against landlords and moneylenders. One point which should suffice to show that religious fanaticism was not the primary cause of the trouble is that the first victim of the insurgents was Khan Bahadur K. V. Chekkuty, a retired police inspector, landowner, and moneylender—a Mohammedan. Moreover, the Moplahs were just as fiercely incensed against Moplah landlords as against Hindu landlords, although the former belonged to their own race and religion.

We must also bear in mind that the insurgents had a special interest in burning the offices where the Governmental registers and the family archives of the native magnates (capitalists and landowners) were kept, thus destroying the legal evidence of the mortgages and other debts of the peasant population. The first action taken by the Moplah Swaraj (Home Rule organisation) was to issue a proclamation for the remission of taxation. This Moplah rising was but a continuance of the peasant disturbances which during recent years have occurred in various parts of India. In 1920 there was a peasant rising in Oudh (Northern India), when the insurgents adopted similar tactics to those of the Moplahs, and burned the houses of the wealthier natives. The main distinction between the Oudh rising and the Malabar rising is that the Oudh peasants were better organised. They had established a definite union known as Kishan Sabhas (Peasants' Union).

The word Moplah is derived from the Tamil word *mupala*, which means son-in-law. The story runs that long ago an Arab

friend of a local chief, having married a girl who was one of the latter's kin, became known as "the son-in-law," and that subsequently all the Arab settlers received the same name. At any rate, the Moplahs are the offspring of Arab warriors, who established themselves on the Malabar coast nearly one thousand years ago, but, of course, their Arab blood has become greatly mixed. There are about one million of them in all. They can be readily distinguished from the other Moslems of the region by their tall, slender, and well-built frames, and by their high-spirited, not to say, quarrelsome disposition. Moplahs are found in considerable numbers in only five of the thirteen taluks or districts of the Malabar coast, namely, in Walluvanad, Ponnani, Ernad, Calicut, and Wynaad. The chief town of Malabar is Calicut, the well-known seaport at which Vasco da Gama first landed in India in the year 1498. This is the leading commercial centre of the region.

In this part of India, social oppression is more extreme than elsewhere, and the terrible tyranny of the caste system is more conspicuous; for these reasons Christianity has made more headway here than in other regions of Hindustan. It is worth noting that among the Nair Hindus of Malabar a modified form of matriarchy still prevails. The area is predominantly agricultural, so that most of the population is directly dependent upon the soil for a livelihood. The members of what are termed the higher castes, those which have social precedence, are likewise the owners of the land. They thus exercise simultaneously a social and an economic domination over the poorer classes. There has been in Malabar an active movement against the injustices from which the poorer members of the population suffer; but, owing to the economic dependence of these latter, the victims of social tyranny have not been able to achieve any notable improvement in their condition. "After years of unhappy experience, the masses have become convinced that social emancipation is impossible to secure in the absence of economic enfranchisement," writes *Justice*, an anti-Brahmin daily newspaper of Madras.

The land in Malabar is in the actual possession of a class of persons known as Jenmis. They pay the Government a rent, the amount being arbitrarily fixed by the local authorities every ten years. Some of the Jenmis are Hindus and others are Mohammedans; but they all belong to the upper class. They sub-let the land in smaller lots to the cultivators. In most cases, indeed, there are several stages in the sub-letting process, so that by the time we reach the peasant who really tills the soil, three or four different persons have acquired an interest in the produce of his holding. Of course, by this disastrous system the amount payable in rent is continually enhanced, until at length the total falls with a crushing weight upon the head of the unlucky peasant.

The tiller of the soil has to devote most of his energies to paying these charges upon the land, so that there is but a narrow barrier between him and famine.

Besides the Jenmis, we have to consider another factor in the life of the Malabar peasants. I refer to the Kanomdars or money-lenders, whose power over the land is obtained by making loans at usurious interest (ranging from 100 per cent. to 700 per cent.), either

to the Jenmis or directly to the peasants. In some cases the Kanomdars buy from the Jenmis the right of sub-letting the land; the right thus acquired is known as the Kanom-leasehold-right. The Kanomdars, to whom landlord rights are transferred in this fashion, are nothing more than moneylenders. They are not peasant farmers at all. "To speak of them as 'farmers' is quite erroneous; it is only through the power of money that they hold sway over the land," writes *The Hindu*, of Madras, a nationalist daily paper. The Kanomdars began to emerge as a class about a century ago, at a time when wealth was accumulating in the hands of the intellectuals, the forerunners of the bourgeoisie in India. These intellectuals, who are numerous in themselves, though they form so small a proportion of the population, make money as officials, lawyers, doctors, traders, etc., and like to invest their savings in land. Indeed, since manufacturing industry is still comparatively undeveloped and is hampered in various ways, and since the interest on the Government loans is too low to be attractive, the land is practically the only field of investment. Such persons have become Kanomdars. They are eager to increase their capital by fair means or foul, and they try to squeeze the uttermost farthing out of the unhappy peasants.

It is obvious that the Kanomdars, as a superfluous and unproductive class, must exercise a disastrous influence upon the agrarian system of Malabar. In fact, they have helped to promote the economic ruin of the country.

Thanks to this abominable agrarian system, peasant revolts have been of frequent occurrence in Malabar. For the last seventy years, the Government has found it necessary to maintain a European garrison at Malapuram, and the first important rising occurred in the year 1836. This led to the passing of an agrarian law which was to protect the peasantry from extortion. In 1854, after another rising, the Moplah War Knives Act was promulgated, forbidding the Moplahs to manufacture or own the long war-knives, which were almost the only weapons obtainable. But in 1887 came yet another and very serious rising, when thousands of Moplahs were shot down. The insurgents had refused to surrender, feeling that the only choice open to them was between death by the bullet and death by slow starvation. The slaughter was followed by a Governmental enquiry, and subsequently a new law was promulgated, the Tenant-Right Act, which was intended to protect the tillers of the soil. None of these measures had any practical effect towards improving the situation of the exploited peasants, for the interpretation of the letter of the law was almost entirely in the hands of the lesser officials —natives personally interested in the system of extortion. Thus, the legislation was farcical. In 1900, when there had been further disturbances, another law was passed, the Farming Improvement Act. This did not pretend to give the peasant any economic security, but merely to safeguard him against eviction.

We have to remember that Malabar is almost exclusively an agricultural country, and that nearly all the population makes its living out of the soil. Ninety-nine per cent. of the Moplahs are poor peasants. The law of 1900 was advantageous to the Kanomdars,

and in a lesser degree to the sub-lessees. It did absolutely nothing to improve the lot of the working peasants.

The present troubles arose out of the fact that the Kanomdars were specially favoured by the Farming Improvement Act of 1900, and were planning to make themselves the sole lords of the soil. For this purpose a meeting of Kanomdars was held on July 18th, 1921, in the Walluvanad district of Malabar, a district largely peopled by Moplahs. The meeting took place at Tutakal, in the residence of N. P. Ahmed Kutti, a wealthy timber merchant, a Mohammedan. Eight hundred Kanomdars were present, both Hindus and Mohammedans. The chair was taken by a Hindu, K. Koru Nair, a noted lawyer of Ottapalam. A resolution was passed to petition the Government for a law to confirm the Kanom-farmers (!) of Malabar in their possessions. Bahadur M. K. Nair, a Hindu, retired Government official, Kanom-farmer and money-lender, member of the legislative council of Madras, was appointed to push the matter of the " Tenancy Bill " in Government circles. We must carefully note that whenever such persons use the term " farmer " and have it employed in legislative enactments they are referring to Kanom-farmers and not to the poor peasants. It is the contention of the Kanomdars that the legislation they propose is the only way by which the agrarian difficulties of Malabar can be overcome. The resolution adopted at this meeting was duly brought before the legislative council of Madras, and was favourably received by the Government, notwithstanding the vigorous opposition of the Jenmis and the more enlightened among the peasants. Although the law had not yet been put in force, the Kanomdars, confident of their coming success, had begun to exercise the expected rights, so that the patience of the oppressed peasants was at length exhausted. The outcome was the Moplah rising of August 19th, which has now become a matter of history.

The non-political character of the rising can be read between the lines of the report of a speech made by Lord Reading, the Viceroy, to a joint meeting of the Council of State and the Indian Legislative Assembly. I quote from *The Times* of September 6th, 1921: " The spark which kindled the flame was the resistance by a large and hostile crowd of Moplahs, armed with swords and knives, to a lawful attempt by the police to effect certain arrests in connection with a case of house-breaking. The police were powerlecss to effect the capture of the criminals, and the significance of the incident is that it was regarded as a defeat of the police, and therefore of the Government."

The actual facts were as follows: Since the hot-headed Moplahs had no other resource against the oppression practised on them by the Kanomdars and the Jenmis, they took the law into their own hands and burned some of their oppressors' houses at Tiruzangadi, a town in the Ernad district. When the authorities set the police in motion and mobilised a company of the Leinster regiment (the British troops stationed at Malupuram) to arrest the ringleaders, a mob of two thousand persons resisted the police and the soldiers, who were forced to withdraw. Certain fanatical

mullahs, such as Ali Musalier, Kunki Tangal, etc., seized the opportunity, with the aid of a few brigands, to raise the standard of the Khilafat movement for the overthrow of the Government.

These adventurers were in a favourable position to begin with, for they were able to seize firearms and ammunition from the recently evacuated police stations and military outposts of Ernad district, so that the British forces had to retreat. Moreover, the insurgents got possession of a sum equivalent to £40,000 from the strong-box at Malapuram.

While affairs were taking this course in the towns, the coolies on the outlying plantations jumped at the chance of retaliating for the grievances they had suffered at the hands of the European planters, and they killed a planter named Eaton. " The Englishman had time to fire only three shots from his revolver before being kicked to death by his own coolies." Another planter, Tippetts by name, " would have been killed but for the loyalty of his servants, who said, ' We have been with the Sahib for five years and can any coolie present point out one act of injustice on the Sahib's part?' " (*The Times*, September 5th, 1921.)

The nationalists and the leaders of the Khilafat movement declared Swaraj (Home Rule), and hoisted the green flag [the religious emblem of the Mohammedans], but the leaders were not able to prevent their followers from engaging in rapine and seeking immediate gain. Another official bulletin throws further light upon the agrarian character of the movement: " A local Moplah landowner, his son, and their retainers, numbering over 100, had a miraculous escape. A rescue party found them in the jungle, hiding from the rebels, who had already declared Swaraj (Home Rule) and published a proclamation remitting taxation." (*The Times*, September 5th, 1921.)

The Hindus suffered most from the wrath of the insurgents, not because they were of a different religion from these, but because most of the oppressors are Hindus. In the interests of the bourgeoisie, the Moplahs have been shot down by machine guns, but the Government has not succeeded in suppressing by this slaughter the revolutionary sentiments of the poor peasants and workmen of India.

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Belgium—Pawn or Player?

By J. T. WALTON NEWBOLD

Fighting in Flanders

IT is fresh in the mind of everybody how, in August, 1914, the advance of the German armies through Belgium provided the immediate excuse for Britain's intervention in the War on the side of France. As in 1870, Gladstone had made it evident that his ministry would permit no violation of the neutrality of Belgium, then believed to be menaced by France, so in 1914, Asquith went to war for the maintenance of " a scrap of paper " that, for once, was deemed to be " Britains' bond." Ever since the Hundred Years' War, the English rulers had jealously watched every diplomat and every military leader who had threatened to establish himself on the other side of the narrow seas opposite the mouth of the Thames and the coast of Kent. Even earlier than that, the Kings of England had entrusted to the burgess-merchants of Sandwich, Dover, Romney, Rye, and Hastings the police duties of watch and ward upon the Channel and there the English navy had its humble beginnings before William of Normandy landed further west on the Sussex shore. The latter had set up Kent as a palatine earldom with special rights and duties over against the hostile lordship of Picardy. From time immemorial England has sought to make secure her Kentish coast by maintaining the mastery of the Narrow Seas and overawing the occupants of the opposing shores of France and Flanders. The continuity of her policy can be followed through the wars of the Edwards and the Henries in the now hot now cold encouragement of the Dutch according as they retreated from Antwerp before the Spaniards or advanced with the support of France; in the occupation of Calais and the subsequent seizure of Dunkirk; in the campaigns of Marlborough and the Wars of the Austrian Succession.

England has permitted no strong and sovereign state to establish itself for any period opposite the Thames. That is one of the cardinal principles of English, and later, of British, diplomacy which students of history are wise to take as axiomatic.

Holland and Belgium

ANOTHER generally constant factor in British foreign relations, since the Glorious Revolution installed Dutch William, and subsequently, the Hanoverian clients of the Amsterdam banking oligarchy on the throne, as the symbols of bourgeois civil and religious liberty, linked with colonial exploitation and naval brigandage, has been the disposition of our Foreign Office to support the pretensions of Holland. There has, of course, been times when, under duress the latter state has been forced into opposition to Britain, when the latter has used the opportunity to rob her customary ally of some valuable possession, such, for instance, as Cape Colony. Britain has had the sea power and Holland has had the money power, and has known how to use it in the politics of the island empire.

Now, Belgium is a state which seceeded from Holland, to which she had been allotted at Vienna, says Mrs. Green " as a compensation for some of her lost colonies," and " as a barrier to France." Subsequently Britain, which had supported the allocation of Belgium to Holland, acquiesced in, and so far as her Whig Party was concerned, enthusiastically approved the establishment of Belgium independence. She would not, however, permit the accession of a French prince, but insisted on one of that numerous litter of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, with which the thrones of Europe have been, under British auspices, so plentifully supplied.

But something much more matter of fact than the " liberties " over which Brougham waxed eloquent on " the stability of thrones," which concerned William IV. and Wellington, was at the back of these manœuvres, as of the later tactics of the Whig government which resulted in the guarantee of Belgian independence and neutrality and naval pressure to compel the Dutch to evacuate Antwerp.

The banking and mercantile oligarchy and their landed allies, who stood behind Wellington, were heartily in sympathy with their Dutch confreres. They formed one social order and for a century and a-half had been acting in almost continuous collusion. There was in Paris another circle of banking interests not without their hopes of exploiting the industrial and commercial resources of Belgium.

Britain had, at Vienna, not only supported the transfer of Belgium to Holland, as a barrier to France, but had been instrumental in handing to Prussia the major part of the Sarre coalfield. At the same time British capital and British enterprise was developing the colliery and iron industries around Liege.

Belgian Industrialism

THIS growth of Belgian industrialism upon a rich and accessible coalfield, which was but a portion of one field underlying the frontier and extending into Northern France, could not fail to attract the liberal bourgeoisie of both French and British industrial capitalism. The cotton manufacturers of Lille and Roubais were as zealous for the emancipation of Belgian trade from the shackles of Amsterdam as were those of Manchester and Bolton. That much achieved, however, and their enthusiasm and their interests took them along different roads. The French would have liked to annex Belgium and bring her within the same orbit of bourgeois liberty as the faubourgs of Paris. The British, more prosaic and more practical, stepped forward with a characteristic gesture to assert the great principle of nationality and to pledge themselves to maintain inviolable the neutrality of Belgium.

Belgium became, during the peaceful years that followed upon 1830, a country with a vigorous industry and an active commerce. Around Liege and Charleroi the heavy industries flourished exceedingly. Coal mining was of great importance and productive of considerable fortunes. Antwerp became a centre of transhipment trade for German and Luxemburg imports and exports, as well as for the needs of Belgium itself. The docks of that city were crowded with ships, many of them owned in London, but trading between

Antwerp and foreign ports. Brussels developed into a great railway centre, and its bourse became one of the most important in Europe.

British, German, Dutch and French capital all came to contribute their quota to Belgian industrial and commercial expansion, and to derive from it their consequent profits. But Belgian capitalism was itself a strong and sturdy native growth. It was ready in the "eighties" to participate in the struggle for spheres of influence and investment and to join with Leopold II. in his nefarious exploitation of the Congo Free State.

The following quotation from the *U.S. Commerce Reports* (28/3/21) throws a light upon subsequent events which becomes brighter as we proceed.

> "The two main, and, in fact, original fields of Belgian expansian have been, from an industrial standpoint, Russia, and from the point of view of raw material supply, the Belgian Kongo. The industrial movement, which dates from the foundation in 1886, of the Societe Metallurgique Duieprovienne by the Cockerill interests, extended first in Russia, and since 1895 has spread to Spain, Italy, Greece, the Balkans, South America, and the Orient. . . . At the same time the opening up of the resources of the Kongo, at first undertaken by small groups of Antwerp capitalists, gradually widened the field for Belgian capital, not only in Africa, but also in the productive tracts of South America, Canada, and the Dutch East Indies. Few Belgian financial organisations exist which have not a relatively large share of their capital involved in overseas enterprises."

Belgian capitalism was rendering Belgium's national isolation and status of neutrality a historic survival, having a legal rather than a material justification.

Belgian iron and steel interests, the makers of railway equipment, including rails and rolling stock, were becoming involved in great railway promotions and constructional projects in Africa, in Argentina, in China, and, above all, in Russia. Belgian mining engineers were active in the fabulously wealthy region of the Haut Katanga to the north of Rhodesia, and in the unexplored riches of China. The shippers and merchants of Antwerp, like their colleagues and competitors of the similar emporium on the Mersey or the other on the Elbe, were investing their money in the tropical resources of Africa. Economic evolution was making a historic anachronism of the vaunted principle of Belgian neutrality. Belgium had thrown up their own capitalists with money to invest and an imperial vision to make real.

Belgian High Finance

LET us look a little closer at Belgian industry and finance. Readers of these articles must all be familiar by this time with their thesis of the pre-eminent importance of coal in the economy of Europe in this, the capitalist period. Let us remind them, therefore, of the fact that the northern coalfield of France, the most important coalfield of France, is "at best only the tail of the more accessible Belgian coal measures."

There was in Belgium one financial house more powerful than all the others of which Vandervelde writes in *La Propriete Fouciere*

en Belgique (p. 164), that it " was ultimately to get all Belgian industry into its grip." This was *La Societe Generale de Belgique*, the oldest " credit mobilier " in Europe, the first of the corporate investment houses, or company founded in 1822. It was " widely interested in Belgian coal mines, in the glass industry, in metallurgy, in textiles, and in electrical power plants " (*U.S. Commerce Reports* (28/3/21).

It had, before the War, established branch banks in Antwerp, Ghent, Liege, and in the Sambre district, with a capital, in all, of 100,000,000 francs.

Further, it had, in 1902, founded the *Banque Sino-Belge* for mining and railway enterprises in China, afterwards making it into a general bank for foreign trade, under the name of the *Banque Belge pour l'Etranger*.

Already, in 1899, together with the *Banque de Paris et des Pays Bas*, of Paris and Amsterdam, it had established the *Banque d'Outremer*, or Overseas Bank.

Most important of all its promotions, however, was that of the great " Schneider Bank," the all-powerful bank of the steel interests, the *Banque de l'Union Parisienne*, which was formed by all the big banks of France, and which commenced operations in the same month—April, 1904—which witnessed the birth of the *Entente Cordiale*. According to the *Economist* (16/1/04), this bank was " founded under the patronage of the Belgian Societe Generale."

The significance of its foundation in virtual coincidence with that of the *Entente Cordiale* cannot, in my opinion, in view of the traditional policy of Britain towards Belgium, be too strongly stressed.

In 1909, the Banque d'Outremer, or one of its associates, founded the *Banque du Congo Belge* and, in 1911, the *Banque Italo Belge*.

Banque-Italo Belge

MEANWHILE, the *Credit Auversois* was recieving the material assistance of the *Credit Mobilier Francais*, and the *Banque de l'Union Parisienne*, which, also, was in behind the *Credit Generale Liegeois*. The *Credit Auversois* linked up with the *Banca Commerciale Italiana*.

Observe these groupings of French and Belgians, of Italians and Belgians these interests of French and Belgians in the Congo and of French and Belgians in Russia; these bewildering but all-important combinations and permutations of jingo financiers, of coal owners, of armament makers. Observe that the most memorable of all coincides with the conclusion of an open friendship and a secret understanding between France and Britain. Observe also, that at this time, the Finance Minister in France was M. Rouvier, who had founded and until he had become Minister, had been chairman of the *Banque Francais pour le Commerce et l'Industrie*, which he had formed in 1901, with the backing of the existing big banks of France and around the nucleus of an institution interested in the Rand.

These combinations were steadily pushing back the German interests which had promoted banks in Brussels, Antwerp, and Liege.

Other *data*, which it is impossible to simplify for reproduction in an article of this character, shows that there existed before the War an intensely complex series of combinations of British, French, and Belgian interests in the Congo and on the borders of British East Africa, German East Africa, Mashonaland, and the Haut Katanza extension of the Congo territory. Enough to say that the Belgian bourgeoisie was over the ears in the same enterprise as the French bourgeoisie.

The Economics of the German Invasion

THE War came, and with it the German armies, smashing through Belgium and down into the north of France, outraging the sensibilities of a world ignorant of the *real politik* of the *Entente* and pitiful of poor, suffering little Belgium. The Germans made several mistakes in tactics in those early days of the War, but when they

> " dug in along the Aisne all the Belgian and northern French coalfields were north of their lines, and so were all of the Belgian and most of the remaining French steel plants." (*Coal, Iron and War* p. 79).

The Central Powers started out with an annual iron output of 21½ million tons, against 22½ million tons for the Allies, and by their rush through Belgium on to the French coalfield, reduced the Allies' output to 16 million tons, and increased their own to 27½ million tons. In the same way they increased their coal output potentialities from 365 million to 420 million tons, and reduced those of their enemies from 425 million to 370 million tons. It was, business being business and war being war, very smart work.

Logically, the Central Union of German Manufacturers and the League of Manufacturers demanded, in May, 1915:

> " the annexation of . . . the French coal areas in the department of the Nord and the Pas de Calais, besides the Belgian areas."

Doubtless, they would have reinforced the effective control which Hamburg had previously had of the vegetable oil supplies of West Africa by the annexation of the Congo, the seizure of the port of Antwerp, and the transfer to the Deutsche Bank and its associates of the rare pickings of the Union Parisienne and the Societe Generale de Belgique.

Business as Usual

HOWEVER, it was not to be, and the Germans being thoroughly defeated, the Belgian capitalists took up once again the threads of their activities and prepared to make the most of the opportunities offered to them in the Succession States of the dismembered Austro-Hungarian Empire, in Poland, and anywhere else the Congo rate of exploitation might be anticipated or enforced. The Societe Generale de Belgique, the Banque d'Outremer and the usual pack of Franco-Belgian confreres, have,

as we showed in an earlier article, been very active in the Saar coalfield, in Luxemburg and in Lorraine.

It is, presumably, this clique, small in numbers, but overwhelmingly influential, who are trying to steer through the highly unpopular Commercial Treaty for Free Trade between Luxemburg and Belgium. They have, also, jointly with British, French, or Dutch capital, sometimes with one, sometimes with all, and sometimes alone, acquired great interests in Galician oil wells at Boryslav in Poland and in other wells in Roumania. They have joined in the loot of Vienna and the sack of Budapest. Everywhere they can be found swinging along laden with booty beside their gay comrades in pillage, the patrons of Monsieur Poincare.

About a year ago, however, Britain was distracted, by reason of a treaty which had been concluded between France and Belgium with no other object, of course, than to safeguard the independence and advance the interests of Belgium. What were its exact commitments we were not told, but it did not make for added harmony between Britain and France.

French and Belgian capitalists have been co-operating more than ever since the War in the common task of repairing their mines, theire factories, and the devastated areas of northern France. They have collaborated in the metal and chemical industries. The political union of forces but reflects a union deep rooted in the economy of the two finance capitalist groups.

Coal and Conflict

BUT, unhappily for the serenity of international relations and the hopes of perpetual peace, Franco-Belgian concord has been established on a coalfield. It is a coalfield, moreover, wherein British capital used to be concerned, and it is one which, geologically, as well as in the logic of economics, links up with the coalfield of Rhenish-Westphalia. The British capitalists have no desire to see a natural deposit of coal extending from west of Lille almost without interuption, to east of Dortmund, forming the basis for a deposit of Franco-Belgian capital controlled by the Union Parisienne and the Societe Generale de Belgique.

Hence, we are beginning to detect rumblings beneath the surface of Conferences, congratulatory dinners and all the superficialities of finance capitalist politics.

It leaked out very unobtrusively that Britain and Belgium had come to some kind of an understanding at Cannes. A few weeks previously, the *Saturday Review* had commented on the effect of the Belgian elections, on a movement of the Flemings against the Walloons that might lead to their secession and a re-union with Holland. These are just the kind of straws which, floating along, indicate that something is happening to ruffle the relations of Britain and some power in close proximity to Belgium.

The *Banque de Bruxelles*, formerly in the German orbit, and independent of the Societe Generale, has become associated with the *British Overseas Bank, Limited*. British shipping, as we have said, makes great use of Antwerp, and the question of the navigation of the Scheldt, if it has changed its meaning somewhat, still remains

a vital question, about which Britain will have much to say in the future as in the past. British interests, also, are strongly bound up with the Rotterdam trade, and the connection with the Royal Dutch petroleum and the great vegetable oil, tobacco, and rubber resources of the Dutch Indies have tightened rather than loosened historic ties between London and the Hague.

Moreover, there is another coalfield in the case. There is the Campine or Limburg coalfield, extending across the Dutch and Belgian frontier, somewhat to the east of Antwerp. It was only discovered some twenty years ago, but the coal is very pure. With it there is found, also, black band iron-ore "similar to that of Dudley, but much richer." There have been occasional references to it of late, and the Dutch branch of the Furness-Withy group has begun to develop it. German capital has, also, been giving it some attention, and it may yet happen that Flanders and the provinces of Antwerp and Limburg will display those curious aspirations of national readjustment that the dwellers upon coal measures are particularly prone to develop in this, the later period of capitalism. One thing is certain, the British and the Dutch do not mean that the coal and its producers shall be exploited by the Societe Generale de Belgique and its French associates. They will fight, at least the British will—for the coal of Belgium as well as for her soul!

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Book Reviews

Proletcult in Theory and Practice

Proletcult. By Eden and Cedar Paul. Stiff covers. 159 pp. 4/6 net. Parsons.

BERGSON in his "Introduction to Metaphysics" points out that there are "two profoundly different ways of knowing a thing. The first implies that we move round the object . . . it *depends on the point of view at which we are placed*, and on the symbols by which we express ourselves" (italics mine). This is very useful as an illustration. It is because the only way we have of getting knowledge about the social system, which is external to us, is by regarding it from *a particular angle*. Our knowledge of the social system will depend on "The point of view at which we are placed." Where we are placed is mainly determined by our economic position in society. The barrister of the Middle Temple will have quite a different "point of view" in relation to the social system from that of the miner of Rhonnda Valley. A difference in economic status determines a difference of "perspective." Hence the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will find "the point of view at which (they) are placed" not only different, but *opposite*. And this opposition of "points of view" will persist so long as the social system, which causes it, persists; and so long will any more comprehensive and less partial knowledge be impossible.

This is the case for proletcult, which the Pauls in this book deal with in a very interesting manner. They take for granted this opposition of points of view, and show that, so long as it exists, systems of knowledge in sociology, history, economics, and even in philosophy and art, will be relative to it; although naturally this relativity will be most noticeable in connection with those things which men approach from *different* points of view, namely, those into which *social* considerations enter. Say the Pauls:—

> "In proportion, as in science, we move from the purely abstract to the biological and social plane, in proportion as the direct human interest comes to predominate in any branch of study, do we find that it is studied with a desire (conscious or unconscious), to fulfil an underlying purpose. . . . But the more abstract the science, the more in the interest of truthful statement must tendency (bias) be kept under control. . . . Tendentious algebra would be ridiculous. Tendentious arithmetic has landed many an accountant behind prison bars." (p. 15.)

So much for proof of the fact that all systems of knowledge are relative, and hence proof of the fact that all culture is in a class society class culture. But there is an additional reason, the Pauls point out, why education, the imparting of systems of knowledge already created, is of a class nature. Owing to limitations of time and circumstances, only a *part* of knowledge can be imparted in education. Hence education is of its very nature *partial*. This applies much more strongly to working class education where time is short and circumstances very unfavourable. The decision as to what *part* of knowledge shall be imparted depends on the *aim* of the education. Different persons with different social ideals will

have different aims in view. Persons of the master class will consciously or unconsciously have the aim of preserving the *status quo*, and making the workers loyal citizens. Hence the need for *independent* working class education, impelled by the aim of fitting the workers to emancipate themselves.

> "Both types of education are tendentious. The only difference between them in this respect is that bourgeois education is less consciously tendentious, and often claims to be entirely above the battle. . . . An essential element of proletarian culture is the belief that . . . . all education which involves imparting a knowledge of man's place in nature and society is necessarily tendentious." (p. 20.)

In the pre-revolutionary period the aim is of necessity and from pressure of circumstances a narrow one—the culture aimed at is predominantly a "fighting culture." When a class society has been abolished, then the aim of proletcult can be broadened. This is the second and higher stage. When Communism is finally reached the economic basis will have been laid for an "universal culture."

The major part of the book is descriptive; and here the Pauls are at their best—in fact better than in their theoretical analysis, which tends slightly to be thin and superficial. They trace various forms of education, from that of Owen and the Christian Socialists up to the Plebs League and the W.E.A. A chapter is given to workers' education in other countries, which contains a great deal of little known and very interesting information. Proletcult, in Russia (where the name originated) receives, as it deserves, a chapter to itself, where we are introduced to the ideas of Lunacharsky, Ulianova, Poliansky, Bogdanoff, and others. Another chapter is on "Proletcult in childhood and youth," which is headed by the following admirable quotation from Prof. Baudouin:—

> "One of the chief tasks of the educator is to safeguard the child from noxious 'suggestions.' *To preserve it from all 'suggestions' is quite impossible.* . . . Education as a whole is nothing but the application of 'suggestion.'" (p. 80.)

Educational enthusiasts will be interested in the Pauls' advocacy of Montessori methods and libertarian education for children. In conclusion, a chapter on the new psychology emphasises the importance of the study of psychology for the working class, and the relevance of the ideas of Freud, Trotter, Tansley, and Baudouin to working-class problems. The emphasis laid on the driving force of "imagination" as an important factor in action will be a useful reminder to those "mechanical" Marxists, who so frequently by their fatalistic passivity bring Marxism into contempt.

It is perhaps hardly fair to criticise the Pauls on a theoretical point; for the main purpose of their book is descriptive. But one could have wished that the Pauls had drawn a clearer distinction between two kinds of impartiality, a confusion of which is at the present time a stumbling block to many engaged in I.W.C.E., and affords a weapon to opponents. Perhaps the difference can be best summed up in words used by Bertrand Russell, in a different connection:—

> "*Human beings cannot, of course, wholly transcend human nature*; something subjective, if only the interest that determines

> the direction of our attention must remain in our thought. But scientific philosophy comes nearer to objectivity than any other human pursuit . . . . it is *a higher form of thought than any pre-scientific belief or imagination, and . . . . it brings with it a rich reward in increase of scope and breadth and comprehension.*" (italics mine). ("Mysticism and Logic," p. 32.).

This marks the distinction very clearly, and incidentally also sums up the case for proletcult. In so far as impartiality means, as it is often used to mean, to aim at scientific objectivity, *as far as possible*, in order that our judgment of facts may be an accurate one, undistorted by minor prejudices, and our thinking sound and clear, that scientific spirit is most desirable. In this sense it *is* the aim of education to make us think. Because Lenin has this clear judgment and the capacity to see facts as they are, and not as he wants to see them, whereas I.L.P. sentimentalists have not, the former's tactics are sound, the latter's are unpractical.

But in so far as impartiality is meant in an "absolute" sense, implying that "human beings can wholly transcend human nature," it is absurd. Human nature depends on social environment, which, in a class society, is of necessity a *class nature*. This is where the W.E.A. goes wrong. We should *limit* the influence of bias as far as possible; and in so far as we are conscious of it whereas the W.E.A.-ers are not, we can do this more effectively. But we must have some "jumping off ground" for our thinking, must start our theories from some assumptions, and these assumptions will be *partial* and *relative*—relative to class. The two kinds of impartiality, relative and absolute, should be more clearly distinguished than they usually are, for it was from failure to make this clear distinction that the recent controversy on the subject in *The Plebs* was rather fruitless.

It would be difficult to pick out one of the Pauls' books and say it was of more service to the working-class movement than another. But "Proletcult" is unique in being the first comprehensive survey of independent working-class education; and probably no one was better fitted for the writing of it than the Pauls. Apart from a slight "thinness" on its theoretical side, it is excellent, and is another confirmation of the claim that Britain is in the van in the education movement. It is a pity that the publishers have chosen to print so badly such a neatly bound and so well-written a book.

M.H.D.

Two Books on Imperialism

The Foundations of Imperialist Policy. By Michel Pavlovitch. 159 pp. Cloth covers. 3/6. Labour Publishing Co.

Oil: Its Influence on Politics. By Francis Delaisi. 94 pp. Cloth covers. 2/6. Labour Publishing Co.

IT is a sign of the times when we find one of the most important publishing firms in the Labour movement issuing splendidly translated books upon important international problems.

The brilliant volume by our able Russian comrade, M. Pavlovitch, is one of the best analyses of imperialism that has so far appeared. A first reading of it gives one the impression that it is a cleverer book than the one written by our Comrade Boudin

on the same subject. One of the important aspects of the *Foundations of Imperialism* is the comparisons made among such Marxist writers on imperialism as Kautsky, Hilferding, and Lenin. While the author presents a detailed examination of the theories advanced by these writers he does not mention Rosa Luxemburg, an equally well-known writer on imperialism. We should like to see the opinions she advanced on imperialism in her famous work on *The Accumulation of Capital*. It is most regrettable that while in Britain the Marxist educational movement is one of the finest in the world, we should not possess English translations of Hilferding's *Finance-Capital*, Luxemburg's *The Accumulation of Capital*, or Lenin's *Imperialism: The last stage of Capitalism*. It is only the latest non-Marxian writings of Kautsky that have been translated recently. If the Labour Publishing Co. tackled the works of Hilferding and Luxemburg perhaps the Communist Party might manage to undertake to translate Lenin's work on imperialism.

We recommend *The Foundations of Imperialism* to our readers. It would make a valuable text in any tutorial class undertaking a study of imperialism. In its pages are to be found the contrasts between the struggles of ancient empires and modern imperialist states. The book shows the number of inherent forces at work in Capitalism that are driving it on to its dissolution. In a series of rapid surveys the reader is shown how helpless is the profit-making system in its vain attempts to extricate itself from the destructive forces which its own development has brought into being.

The smaller volume on *Oil: Its Influences on Politics*, although written by a critic of Communism, is a splendid little study in applied Marxism. Here we see a practical illustration of the theories advanced by Lenin regarding imperialism being the descent of Capitalism into its decadent period. The study of oil by Mr. Delaisi, who shows its revolutionary influence upon the development of Capitalism and its importance upon foreign diplomacy, is a concrete demonstration of the Marxian theory advanced by Pavlovitch. The bitterness of Mr. Delaisi in his attack upon the foreign policy of "oil statesmen" like Lord Curzon in particular, and of Britain in general, leads one to suspect that he has a mighty lot of sympathy for the poor old Standard Oil Co. In any case, it is a penetrating analysis and a scathing indictment of the servile tools of big business whom we call foreign ministers.

W. P.

Pen Pictures of Russia*

* *Pen Pictures of Russia under the Red Terror*. By John S. Clarke. 4s. 6d. National Workers' Committee, 31, North Frederick Street, Glasgow.

LIKE the rest of us, John S. Clarke is subject to changes of mood. There is the fighting John S., who wrote (several years ago):—

"The warfare of the classes isn't honey or molasses,
And you'll need a sharper weapon than a kiss";

and

". . . the seal of their reliance, and the gage of their defiance,
Was the bullet-riddled carcase of a Czar."

and there is the politic John S., who wrote (last year) a pamphlet entitled *Bombs or Brains?* to show the inapplicability of terrorist tactics to modern British conditions. The change in mood corresponds to a change in the world situation. If the left-wing analysis is sound, the clash between the capitalist powers in August, 1914, marked the opening phase of the world revolution. The events in Russia during 1917-18 were characteristic of a revolutionary crisis. None of us can tell how soon the forward march of the revolution will be resumed; but for the present we are marking time, and the capitalist system is making awkward efforts to reconsolidate itself. Russia, too, is no longer " in the rapids of revolution." Despite the dictatorship of the proletariat, her policy is in large measure dictated by the peasantry—a reactionary class constituting four-fifths of the population. This is one reason (of course there are others) why the politic Clarke of *Bombs or Brains?* has temporarily got the better of the fighting Clarke of *The Awakened Bear, a Bolshevik Ballad.*

Pen Pictures of Russia is the product of an intermediate phase, in time as in mood. John S. visited Russia for the 1920 congress of the Third International, and this book is a series of impressionist sketches of his experiences. We read them when they first appeared in " The Worker." They bear a second reading in book form, for the volume is worthy to take its place in the series of a dozen or more notable volumes penned by visitors to Soviet Russia. Though not a *great* book, it is a *readable* book—and many readers prefer the latter qualification to the former. Some will consider it overloaded with horror. But then, that is the way the author sees things and feels them. He has a gruesome fondness for incidents which are what the Germans call " schauderhaft," " shuddery." Like the Fat Boy in Pickwick shouting in the ear of the deaf old lady, he says, " I wants to make your flesh creep "—and does it!

But the book is not all 'orrors and creeps. Besides the accounts of the brutalities of Churchill's " lambs " of the British Expeditionary Force, and besides the lurid tales of the abominations perpetrated by sadistic and megalomaniac Czars like Ivan the Terrible and Peter the Great, there are fine descriptions of the countryside, character sketches of Bolshevik notables and delegates to the congress, graceful translations of Russian poems; and brooding over the whole is the fierce enthusiasm of the class struggle. There is matter in this book to suit all varieties of Communist taste. Comrades should read it, and then pass it on to friends on whom it may exercise a wholesome propagandist influence. E. & C.P.

The Psychology of the Class War

[An Outline of Psychology. Plebs Text Books Number One. Published by the Plebs League, affiliated to the National Council of Labour Colleges. 2s. 6d. Post paid 2s. 9d. Order from the Plebs League, 11a, Penywern Road, London, S.W. 5.]

IT is natural that the present writers should welcome the Plebs *Outline of Psychology*! They have been told, more or less emphatically, that their own writings are too difficult for Communist comrades, and for those whom missionaries to the heathen are accustomed to speak of hopefully as " enquirers." Well, for about five years, in the " Plebs " and elsewhere, E. & C.P. have

been persistently proclaiming that certain aspects of the Freudian psychology are indispensable constituents of a modern proletarian ideology, of the philosophy of revolution, of the fighting culture of the proletariat. The two closing chapters of *Creative Revolution* (to which the other ten are but a prelude) are not fully comprehensible except to those who know the elements of the new psychology of the unconscious. But students who have mastered the *Outline* will find that our own book no longer offers the slightest difficulty.

Again, the reviewer of *Proletcult* in "*The Communist*," referring to the chapter on "The New Psychology," says that this has no vital connection with the workers' educational movement. He adds, pepperily: "I will NOT go about with this particular tin can tied to my tail!" Now the *Outline* is a detailed and overwhelmingly convincing justification of the contention that psychology, as understood by advanced students in the year 1922 (it does not matter whether you call it "Freudian psychology" or "the New Psychology," "abracadabra," or "X.Y.Z."), IS an essential constituent of proletcult or independent working-class education. Take this thought from the obnoxious "tin can"—the chapter on "The New Psychology" in *Proletcult*:

"In the proletarian environment the sub-conscious is already aware of the conflict we term the class struggle. The suggestions of Marxist education in economics and industrial history are in conformity with latent trends that pre-exist in the pupils' minds. They arouse autosuggestions which speedily awaken and reinforce class consciousness, and direct the associated emotions towards the channels of revolutionary endeavour. . . . Thought is realised in action. That is the meaning of Marxism as a revolutionary high-explosive, for the Marxist ideology arouses the latent autosuggestions of the proletarian status." Agreed, perhaps, that it was premature to expect the average Labour College and Marxist class student to understand that passage a year ago. And yet we feel sure that no one can be a competent revolutionary propagandist unless he has fully grasped the idea, and is competent to convey it (doubtless in simpler phraseology) to all the "enquirers" he encounters. Well, the first edition of the *Outline* has been sold out within five weeks. That means that, within a few weeks more, there will be at least three thousand working-class readers to whom the above-quoted sentence will offer no difficulty whatever!

We have taken these instances because by them the value of the *Outline* has been vividly impressed upon our own minds, and we hope thereby to convey more vividly to readers of the COMMUNIST REVIEW how keenly we appreciate the first of the Plebs Text books. The last thing we desire to suggest is that we value this admirable book as a mere pendant and handmaid to our own writings. One has a "complex" (sometimes) in favour of one's own children; but if we had to choose between alternatives, we would rather be sure that the *Outline of Psychology* WAS BEING MASTERED BY EVERY PROLETARIAN STUDENT IN THE COUNTRY, than that our own writings were being read. Happily, the choice is not forced upon us, for the books are complementary, and will help one another. A high standard has been set by this "Number One" of the text books, and we look confidently forward to the standard being maintained by a series which should help us all to get ready for The Day.

Apart from its other merits, the *Outline* is amazing value for the money. It is so arranged that it can be advantageously used by isolated students for self-tuition, or jointly by classes without a tutor. But the best results will be secured by class work under a class leader or tutor who, though himself a learner (as we all are in this subject to-day), is well ahead of his fellow students, and discusses the volume with them section by section.

EDEN AND CEDAR PAUL.

A Vexed Problem

National Welfare and National Decay. By William MacDougal. 214 pp. Cloth. 6/- net. Metheun.

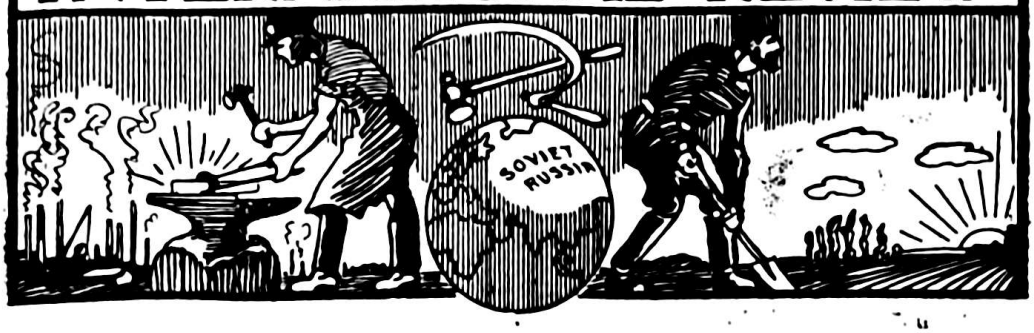
PROF. McDOUGAL in this small volume gives us the substance of the six lectures he delivered in 1921 to the Lowell Institute in Boston. We are frankly disappointed in this work, which lacks the meritorious quality of the same writer's *Social Psychology*. The problem discussed opens up the tantalising question of race. Neither Prof. McDougal nor anyone else can adequately deal with this extremely intricate subject in a small volume. Our author follows in the footsteps of Francis Galton and accepts some of the superficial theories advanced in *Hereditary Genius*. Galton believed that genius, like murder, will out. Many of the tables presented in *National Welfare and National Decay* attempt to show the rich mental endowment of the upper and professional classes. Both Galton and McDougal assume that the ruling class is in its superior economic status because of its superior mentality. It has been demonstrated, time after time, that the reverse is true—it is the superior economic environment of the ruling class that gives it the social advantages which result in superior mentality. It is not enough to compare the intelligence of poor and wealthy children, even when they attend the same school. The blighting environment of working class life is not only a matter of inferior food, clothing, and housing. There is the historical aspect, one phase of which may be seen in the unconscious servility of great masses who are afraid to aspire to higher things because of the centuries of oppression which have made them imagine that they are social inferiors and of a different species from their masters.

Prof. McDougal, like Francis Galton, is an enthusiastic advocate of eugenics. Under Capitalism the problem of scientifically organising the rearing of healthy children cannot be tackled. People like E. Geddes and Mond always get in the way. Until Capitalism is destroyed, eugenics, like many other interesting topics, is only for intellectual dilettantes.

Soviet Russia, blockaded, starving, and fighting has made a great step forward in the building up of a healthy race. She begins to educate her children before they are born by attending to the mother while she is carrying her child. By thus attending to one of the parents the Soviet Government has accomplished a great deal. No doubt when Russia gets on to her feet she will tackle the problem of attending to the other parent. Until this is done all questions regarding the mental endowment of social groups is mere speculation.

W. P.

INTERNATIONAL REVIEW.



America

For Labor Unity—No Colour Line Here!

JOINT CALL FOR A CONVENTION OF ALL INDEPENDENT UNIONS AND LABOUR GROUPS OF ALL RACES IN NORTH AMERICA.

Brothers and Fellow Workers.—

DURING the struggle of class conscious elements in the organised labour movement against the reactionary leadership of the A. F. of L., hundreds of local unions have been expelled or have withdrawn from their general organisations, and hundreds of independent unions have been formed outside of the A. F. of L., separate and apart from the other units of labour.

This element (exclusive of the Railroad Brotherhoods) numbering over 1,000,000 in the United States and Canada, remain without any medium for concerted action in the struggle of the workers for better conditions of labour and more control of the industries for the working class.

The inadequacy of small units to successfully cope with the powerful combinations of the industrial capitalists have led to the destruction of a number of such unions and have weakened nearly all of them.

The necessity of all militant independent unions of America uniting in one general federation, in order to present a solid front in time of need for organisation, education, defence and offensive purposes is recognised by the undersigned organisations, and we appeal to all other units of labour to join with us in the movement to unify and solidify the various units of the independent labour movements into one central council.

In order to bring about this unity, the undersigned Labour Unions of Greater New York and vicinity have called a convention to meet at Hotel Workers' Hall, 133, West 51st Street, at which all unions will participate on an equal basis.

Realising that the treachery of the reactionary leaders and the division of the militant elements have kept the great majority of the workers of North America divided and unorganised, we consider

it the duty of the class conscious members of the Militant Independent Unions to furnish a new leadership to the American working masses.

All unions desiring to participate in this convention should communicate with Patrick J. McClellan, 83, East Fourth Street, secretary of United Labour Council of Greater New York and vicinity.

Fraternally submitted:

Bakery and Confectionery Workers, No. 164, Amal. Food Workers.
International Carpenters of A., Local No. 1.
International Carpenters of A., No. 15.
International Carpenters of A., Local No. 16.
Amalgamated Electric Workers.
Feather Bow Workers' Union.
United Glove Workers' Union.
Amalgamated Metal Workers of America, Lodges Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 21, 32 and 33.
Plumbers', Fitters' and Helpers' Union of N. Y.
Public Service Workers' Organisation.
United Shoe Workers', Local Nos. 61, 72, 96, 113 and 126.
Construction Workers' Industrial Union of U. L. C.
United Harbour and Marine Workers.
Lunch-room Workers' of the Amalgamated Food Workers.
Hotel Workers' Branch of the Amalgamated Food Workers.
Dental Mechanics' Union of N. Y.
United Labour Council of Greater New York and vicinity.
United Labour Council of America.

More Bolshevik Crimes—Unpardonable Sins

THE WAY SOVIET RUSSIA GIVES FREEDOM TO THE DARKER RACES AND RETURNS CZARIST THEFTS.

FROM *The Nation* (NEW YORK).

SPECULATION as to whether the Soviet Government will, or will not, survive is one of the most delightful of indoor pastimes—particularly for our American editorial writers. We ourselves have our serious doubts as to its permanency quite aside from any economic issues; for we cannot but question the survival of any Government which admittedly holds itself in power by duress, by force, and by suppression. Yet, even in that, it strangely resembles some other European Governments, and, as with everything else that has occurred in Russia, there has been the most abominable exaggeration about the number of imprisonments and executions. We are quite clear in our own minds, too, that any government in Russia satisfactory to the men who control the present world organisation would be far more bloodthirsty and violent that has been the Soviet Government—witness Horthy in

Hungary, witness what has been going on in Rumania, witness the pogroms in Poland. But for some reasons, if it ever comes, we shall receive with profoundest regret the news of the fall or retirement of the two ablest rulers in the world to-day—Lenin and Trotzky—and the chief of those reasons is the policy pursued by them in foreign affairs. Some of the facts in regard thereto we are setting forth here for the benefit of such editorial writers as are not so blind they will not see. It is a record to be proud of, for it has been marked by ideality, by extraordinary generosity, frequently by a genuine living up to the doctrine of dealing with others as one would be dealt by. Yet it has been deliberately and completely overshadowed by the myriads of lies about Russia, such as that of the nationalisation of women.

First and foremost comes the treatment of China. In March, 1920, the Moscow Government sent a communication to the Chinese Government expressing that deep sense of outrage which every honest human being must feel at the crimes committed against China by the great capitalistic Powers, and offering to annul all its treaties with China, and to renounce all the special privileges for Russia and Russians wrung from the Chinese by the Government of the Czars. It urged China to resume negotiations for the restoration to her of the Chinese Eastern Railway, and for the cancellation of the protocol of 1901, and it announced that the Soviet Government would give up all the extra-territorial rights enjoyed by Russians and Russian missionaries in China. More than that, Lenin offered to cancel the rest of the Boxer indemnity, and all the mining rights held in China by Russians. That was not all. As a special act of reparation, Lenin offered to present to China without charge the great Russian tea factories at Hankow. It is true that there was a string attached to all of this. What was it? It was that the Chinese people should have complete freedom to determine their own system of government. How base, how shocking!

At the time, the London *Times* correspondent in China reported that that country would gladly accept this offer so unparalleled in the relations of great nations. But something happened. More than a year has passed, and China has not yet been able to signify its assent. The Pekin Government, on September 17th, gave out a statement in which it said that "China must follow the example of the Allies regarding trade representation with Russia," and in December, 1920, inspired dispatches declared that the Chinese Government "does not desire to proceed further toward formal recognition of the Moscow Government than Great Britain, and that its decisions will be influenced largely by those of the British Government. . . ." On May 7th last the Peking Foreign Office declared that "no formal negotiations have been opened with the Soviet Government. China's attitude at present is neutral. As long as our frontiers are not violated we will remain spectators." In other words, under Allied pressure, China has not dared to act.

When it comes to Persia, the facts are clear. There the wicked Soviet leaders put an end to the Czar's policy of dividing Persia with Great Britain, and have driven England out. And there, too,

they renounced every one of the extra-territorial privileges which made against the complete freedom of Persia, with the result that on July 26th last Lord Curzon officially admitted that the Persian Government had decided that it preferred salvation from Moscow rather than from London. Before advancing Soviet forces, the British troops fled so hastily that they blew up bridges which the British had themselves constructed; the whole British military and civilian structure in Persia has collapsed, and with it the hope of Persian oil. Previously, on February 26th last, Russia signed a treaty (published in *The Nation* on May 11th) immutably renouncing all of the Russian Imperial Government's policy of force, and affirming the scandalous purpose of the present Russian Government "to see the Persian people independent, flourishing, and freely controlling the whole of its possessions." Worse than that, Lenin turned over all Russian properties in Persia, such as railways, quays, goods, stores, steamers, barges, chaussees, telegraph and telephone lines, the port of Enzeli, with stores, stations, power-houses, etc., free of cost. Had anyone else drafted it the world would have said that no more admirable or high-minded or just treaty could have been written. And the same high praise may be conferred upon the treaty between Russia and Afghanistan, returning to that country the Afghanistan frontier districts stolen by Russia—a treaty based upon "the principle of justice and the free expression of the will of the people." As an evidence of good-will the Soviets are giving yearly a free subsidy to Afghanistan of one million rubles in gold or silver. They are building for it a telegraph line, free of charge, from Kushka via Herat and Kandahar to Kabul, and are supplying technical and other specialists to the Afghan Government—of course, for some devilish schemes of their own.

Rack our brains as we may, we cannot recall an instance in the history of the noble Allied Powers, now so outraged at the Soviet Government, in which they have negotiated any similar treaty with any other Power on earth, big or little, without exacting blood money and territorial or economic concessions for any favours they might have conferred. We can think only of our own return of the Boxer indemnity as an exception to the rule of uniform imperialist aggression. Yet, were we to delve further into the diplomatic history of these Bolshevik outlaws, we might unearth other treaties almost as strange.

Germany

THE strike of the railroad workers in Germany marks a new era in the Labour situation. After months of futile negotiations the railwaymen sent an ultimatum to the Government, on the 26th of January, demanding a satisfactory reply within five days. They threatened to strike if their demands were not conceded. They carried out their threat, and came out on strike on the 1st of February. The reply of the social democratic President of Germany—the J. H. Thomas of that country—was to issue an anti-strike decree! The scope of the strike, the sympathy that it aroused among the masses, and the extension of it by the united

action of the Berlin municipal workers, who also struck work, compelled the Government to cancel its anti-strike decree a few days after it had been issued. President Ebert, like many of our British Labour leaders, is a confirmed constitutionalist, and like them is a thorough believer in the all importance of Parliamentary action. It is interesting to note, however, that the anti-strike decree, and its dire threats of punishment to strikers, *was unconsitutional.*

The strike began in a most determined manner, despite the embittered opposition of the State and many of the moderate trade union leaders. The action of the railwaymen created a wonderful impression upon the lower middle-class and the black-coated salariat, who responded to the strike in many ways.

Faced with the opposition of their own leaders and the fact that the strike had been declared illegal, the men, with their organisation intact, returned to work on February 9th. By their action they have demonstrated that the masses can defy the Government and break through the " illegal " constitutionalism of the majority Socialists, and conduct a strike over the heads of their " yellow " leaders. The railwaymen have unmasked President Ebert and have shown what traitors are the leaders of Amsterdam and the Second International. The strike coincided with the publication of the Moscow Theses on the need for a Single Labour Front as the best tactic to pursue in exposing the fakirs in the Labour movement. The action of the railwaymen and the deeds of Ebert and the trade union leaders were a series of vivid lessons on the correctness of the new Theses issued by Moscow. The social-democrats opposed the strike; the Independents wavered in the best two and a half manner, while the Communists rushed forward immediately and took their place with the strikers. The German workers are noting these things and will remember.

Czecho-Slovakia

The strike of the German railwaymen created a great deal of revolutionary ferment in Czecho-Slovakia and in other places. The psychology of revolution shows that a determined mass-movement in one country immediately stimulates the workers elsewhere. The miners' strike in Czecho-Slovakia was called off on 13th February, *i.e.*, a few days after the German railwaymen had returned to work. The miners were not beaten. They have successfully resisted an increase in the number of working hours, but they may have to submit to a slight reduction in wages. At time of writing no details are to hand.

Had the German strikes extended the Czecho workers would have given magnificent support. The end of the miners' strike was not unconnected with the return of the German strikers to work. There were great possibilities of a general strike in Czecho-Slovakia as the only method to be employed in breaking the policy of the master class in its desperate attack upon wages and working hours. The Communist Party favoured this course, but pointed out that it would not use its power to force on a general strike unless the masses were favourable to such action. The Communists are

anxious to organise the workers so that when a general strike is decided upon it will be possible to sweep over the heads of the reformist leaders to success.

It is of the utmost importance for Communists in Britain to study the development of the working class movement in Czecho-Slovakia. The progress of revolutionary organisation in Czecho-Slovakia plays a far-reaching part in assisting the struggles of the masses in South-East Europe—particularly in the Danubian countries and in the Balkans. The Communists are very powerful in Czecho-Slovakia. At the recent Trade Union Congress held in Prague the question of relationship with the Red International Labour Union was discussed. The Communists were weakened when the vote was taken because one of the most revolutionary groups, the Federation of Agricultural Labourers, with a membership of 120,000, was debarred from voting in consequence of not fulfilling some insignificant bureaucratic rule. Despite this handicap the Communists were able to muster a magnificent vote of 226,552 for Moscow as against 342,981 for Amsterdam. Since the Congress took place the great strike of the miners has occurred (described above), and it considerably advanced the prestige of the Communists. Industrial action is a much better method of exposing traitors than mere personal denunciations. In action the fakirs unmask themselves and demonstrate their own treachery.

Italy

WHEN the Communist International appealed to the Italian Socialists to expel the reformist leaders from their ranks many people, like Longuet and Wallhead, considered this demand was too dogmatic. What the Communist International feared was that the moderate influences would set up reactionary tendencies inside the Italian movement. So-called left wing men, like Paul Levi in Germany and Serrati in Italy, were of the opinion that the tactics of Moscow were too drastic. Events, however, have shown the unerring instinct of Moscow and have demonstrated the correctness of their attitude. We now see the melancholy spectacle of one of the foremost revolutionary movements in Europe, which three years ago was bristling with revolutionary ardour and capable of conducting big fights, reduced to making compromises with the enemy.

The National Council of the Italian C.G.L. (National Federation of Labour) has actually decided on a policy of collaborating with the capitalists. Likewise, the Parliamentary group of the P.S.I. (Socialist Party of Italy) has passed a resolution declaring its belief in working hand in hand with the bourgeois political parties. Here we see to what extremes of impotence the Italian movement has been reduced. These policies were arrived at without any indication of any line of action upon immediate concrete issues. This is where Serrati has landed his party. He is now being towed into the rapids of reaction by the very astute stratagem of the moderate Turati and d'Aragona. Serrati, who was so much cleverer than the Communist International, refused to smash the

power of Turati eighteen months ago. He now finds his influence gone in C.G.L. and his power in the Socialist Party decreasing every day.

To the credit of the Socialist Party, let it be said, the members at the National Congress last year decided against collaboration with the bourgeoisie. This decision has been overturned by the Parliamentary group. The left wing leaders of the party, who attended the Moscow Congress last year, have had the courage to repudiate the action of the Parliamentary group and have issued a manifesto to the rank and file demanding that Congress decisions shall be enforced. Lazzari, one of the ablest leaders of the left wing in the party, has resigned from the Parliamentary group. Thus by striving to save a moderate reformer, like Turati, from the definite demands of Moscow, Serrati has succeeded in splitting up the remnants of the Socialist Party. Here again we see vindicated the policy of the Communist International.

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Weekly

The Red Calendar

1922.

Jan. 10. The Rand Strike extends.
13. Italian Federation of Labour decides to co-operate with bourgeoisie.
15. Two and a half International favours an International Labour Congress.
17-19. Italian Socialist Party declares its opposition to collaborating with bourgeoisie.
19. International Communist Conference at Berlin discusses reparations.
21. Far-Eastern Conference opens at Moscow.
21. Albert Inkpin, Secretary of Communist Party of Great Britain, sent to prison.
22. Maslow and Budich, German Communist leaders, arrested.
23. *Daily Herald* reduced in price to one penny.
22-23. National Council of German Communist Party meets.
22-26. National Congress of Czecko-Slavs at Prague.
23. Friesland Group expelled from German Communist Party by 41 votes to 4.
24. Trial of 300 Rumanian Communists opens at Bucharest
24. Miners' strike in Czeck-Slovakia begins.
25. Trial of 33 Jugo-Slav Communists opens at Belgrade.
25. Trade Union Congress at Prague decides to remain in Amsterdam International; 342,981 for, 226,552 against.
25. Tax agreement arranged between German capitalists and social democrats.
26. Transport strike begins in Constantinople.
26. Leaders of the Finnish Communist Party arrested.
30. Switzerland passes anti-Socialist law.
30. Congress of Far-Eastern Communist Youths opens at Moscow.

Feb. 1. German Railway strike begins.
1. Ebert passes anti-strike decree.
2. General strike of miners begins in Czecko-Slovakia.
2. Italian Premier resigns.
4-6 International Socialist Conference at Paris on Reparations. No decision.
5. Municipal workers strike in Berlin.
6. Washington " peace " treaties signed.
7. Greek General Federation of Labour declared illegal, and Headquarters of Communist Party closed down.
7. German Railway strike ends.
8. Berlin municipal strikers vote to continue struggle, but leaders end strike.
8. Arrest of several Rand strike leaders.
9. New South Wales Trade and Labour Council votes to affiliate with R.I.L.U.
9. Ebert compelled to cancel anti-strike decree.
10. Temporary agreement reached in Czech's miners' strike.
10. General strike in Naples.

FOR SOCIALISM AT ONCE

The Communist

Published by the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain

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